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DEVIANT SUBCULTURES ON A COLLEGE CAMPUS.

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THIS STUDY EXAMINES SOME OF THE DETERMINANTS AND EFFECTS OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE INFORMAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE FOUND ON THE CAMPUS OF BENNINGTON COLLEGE, VERMONT. THE STUDY WAS DESIGNED AS A REPLICATION, AS NEARLY AS POSSIBLE UNDER CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES, OF A STUDY CARRIED OUT AT THE SAME COLLEGE DURING THE 1930'S. THE EARLIER STUDY DEMONSTRATED THE IMPACT OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION ON CERTAIN ATTITUDES OF STUDENTS. THE LATER ONE ATTEMPTS TO DETERMINE SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CURRENT NORMS AMONG BENNINGTON STUDENTS AND THOSE FOUND NEARLY 25 YEARS EARLIER, AS WELL AS TO COMPARE CERTAIN EFFECTS OF EACH SET OF NORMS. FINDINGS TENDED TO SHOW THAT COLLEGIATE DEVIANTS (1) TENDED TO HAVE FRIENDS WHOSE ATTITUDES WERE SIMILAR TO THEIR OWN, (2) CHANGED THEIR ATTITUDES WITH RESPECT TO BENNINGTON'S NORMS SIGNIFICANTLY LESS THAN NONCOLLEGIATE DEVIANTS, AND (3) WERE SIGNIFICANTLY MORE LIKELY THAN NONCOLLEGIATE DEVIANTS TO BE SEEN AS DEVIANT BY OTHER STUDENTS. (LP)

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Cooperative Research Project No. 1926

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PROBLEM ON WHICH THE RESEARCH WAS FOCUSED

This study is an examination of some of the determinants and effects of certain aspects of the informal social structure found on a college campus. In the fall of 1959, a three-year survey of the attitudes, the social participation, and the interaction patterns of the students at Bennington College was undertaken. The study was designed as a replication, as nearly as possible under changed circumstances, of a study carried out at the same college during the 1930s (Newcomb, 1943). The earlier study demonstrated the impact of community participation on certain attitudes of students. The later one attempts to determine similarities and differences between current norms among Bennington students and those found nearly 25 years earlier, as well as to compare certain effects of each set of norms.

Bennington College now has a student body of some 300 women--about 50 more than in the 1930s. Its small size and its relative isolation in the Vermont mountains, together with certain other circumstances, might lead one to expect that the student body would come to share a rather homogeneous set of norms--that a common, college-wide "culture" would arise. This was in fact one of the fundamental findings of the earlier study. The more recent study suggests that a dominant "culture" still characterizes the student body, although the content of the norms has substantially changed. On the other hand there now seem to exist several subgroupings of students who do not share the dominant norms and who identify themselves, as well as being identified by others, as deviating from the dominant expectations. The emergence of these deviant subcultures, which was not foreseen in planning the recent investigation although the data obtained lend themselves to the study of them, sets the problem for the present study.

OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES

The basic objectives underlying this study are theoretical ones. That is, we aimed to discover, in terms sufficiently generalizable to be applicable to other large groups and small communities, at least some of the conditions under which deviant subgroups arise and have specified effects upon their members. In recent years social psychologists have begun to theorize vigorously about the connections between interaction processes among persons and cognitive processes occurring within individuals. As some of the data already cited show, the attitudes one holds strongly affect one's relationships with others and vice versa.

One major theoretical rationale for this observation is the "theory of balance" as formulated by Heider (1958), Newcomb (1961) and others.

Newcomb (1961, Ch. 2) defined fundamental cognitive structures as orientations--predispositions to respond in particular ways to objects in the environment. More specifically, orientations involve both beliefs about the nature of objects, and approach-avoidance or positive vs. negative tendencies toward these objects. It is convenient to differentiate between orientations toward other persons (attractions) and orientations toward objects (attitudes).

Newcomb points out that orientations to objects and to other persons tend to be interdependent. In fact, we can speak of systems of interpersonal orientations--for Newcomb, when individual A attributes to another individual B an attitude toward an object, X, toward which A also holds an attitude, we can speak of A as co-orienting toward B and X.

The process of co-orientation has system-like qualities. In particular, Newcomb states the following propositions about such systems:

1. The stronger A's attraction toward B, the greater the strength of the force upon A to maintain minimal discrepancy between his own attitude

- toward X and the attitude he perceives B to hold toward X.
2. The greater the perceived discrepancy in attitude between A and B, the stronger the force on A to reduce this discrepancy, or to change the intensity of his attraction for B. The psychological force resulting from this discrepancy, Newcomb calls "strain."
 3. The intensity of strain is affected by the importance and joint relevance of X for A and B.

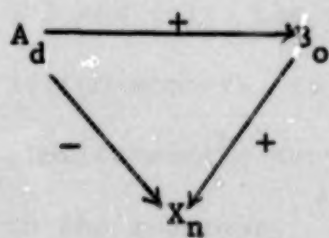
If strain exists in an orientation system, certain changes will tend to occur. These changes will involve one or more of the following:

- a. A can change his attitude toward X.
- b. A can change his attitude toward B.
- c. A can change his perception of B's attitude.
- d. X can become less important for either A or B.
- e. X can be reduced in its perceived relevance for A and B.

The situation of a deviant in a group may be described as an unbalanced orientation system. This system may be represented as in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1

THE ORIENTATION SYSTEM OF THE DEVIANT



Key: A_d = the deviant
 E_o = the organization or group
 X_n = a norm
 + → denotes a positive orientation
 - → denotes a negative orientation

The A_d-B_o relationship is assumed to be positive (though possibly ambivalent) because A_d belongs to B_o . The B_o-X_n relationship is assumed to be positive because X_n is a norm of B_o .

Figure 1 shows that if a deviant is aware that he is a deviant (if he perceives that the B_o-X_n relationship exists), then he will experience strain.

From balance theory we can derive the following four ways that A_d can reduce this strain:

- a. He can change the sign of A_d-X_n . That is, he can change his attitude toward the norm, and come to accept it.
- b. He can attempt to change the sign of B_o-X_n . That is, he can, on the cognitive level, deny the existence of the norm, or, overtly, he can attempt to change the norm.
- c. He can change the sign of A_d-B_o . That is, he can reduce his participation in the organization, or withdraw altogether.
- d. He can attempt to establish balanced relationships with other individuals within the organization. That is, he can substitute a part of the B_o for the total group; this segment of group would share A_d 's negative attitude toward the norm. Strictly speaking, this alternative may be viewed as a combination of alternatives (b) and (c): the deviant, by association with like-minded fellow-members, is withdrawing from the larger group, while simultaneously denying that the norms of the larger group apply to the subgroup.

For a deviant individual to change his attitude toward the norm, substantial changes in his self-image or basic attitude structure may

have to take place. Thus deviants are often severely limited in their ability to conform because of the costs involved, or, as we have indicated, because they lack the requisites for conformity. The likelihood of conformity is further affected by the availability of alternative solutions.

Withdrawal from the group may often be a simple solution; but the probability of leaving or of reducing participation is limited by the incentives the deviant may associate with participation, or by the degree to which the deviant is prevented from leaving the group.

Attempting to deny the existence of a norm may be a workable temporary solution, but this is likely to be limited by the forces of reality. To the degree that the deviant participates in the life of the group, his chances for misperceiving its norms are reduced. Attempting to change the norm is certainly difficult if the deviant lacks power (which is very likely); furthermore, if the effort is fruitless the strain remains. Finally, and perhaps most important, the attempt to change the norm makes the deviant more visible, and hence exposes him to the operation of sanctions.

Thus, the most viable way for deviants to reduce cognitive strain connected with their deviance while remaining in the organization and maintaining their initial attitudes is to establish relationships with others in the group who share their views. This solution depends, of course, on the availability of such others.

It is now possible to state three fairly precise propositions concerning adaptations of deviants to the fact of their deviance:

Proposition 1: Those who deviate from the norm of a group will

tend to associate with one another to a greater degree than they associate with nondeviants. The degree of association among deviants is affected by such variables as proximity, length of time in the organization, etc.

Proposition 2: Deviants who tend to associate with nondeviants more than with other deviants will tend at a later time to change their attitudes more than deviants who participate in deviant subgroups.

Proposition 3: Deviants who are not part of a deviant subgroup will tend to reduce their participation in the organization to a greater degree than deviant subgroup members. This response is an alternative to attitude change.

Newcomb's study of the acquaintance process (1961) has clearly demonstrated that under one set of circumstances, at least when pressures to conform to a norm are at a minimum, initial strangers prefer to seek association with like-minded individuals rather than change their attitudes. Moreover, his data show that while initial strangers persistently assume similarity between their own attitudes and the attitudes of those to whom they are attracted, perceptions of the attitudes of others become more accurate as familiarity increases. Thus, as group life develops, patterns of friendship tend to shift, until the final stages of the group (in his studies, four months), when friendship choices are predictable (statistically speaking) from pre-acquaintance attitudes. Propositions (1) and (2) are attempts to generalize these findings to the situation where pressures to change attitudes are strong.

It is crucial to note that, while participation in deviant subgroups may solve the problem of cognitive strain for deviants, this situation creates new problems for them. For, by associating with each other, deviants greatly increase their visibility, and thereby open themselves up to the sanctions of the larger group. The formation of a deviant subgroup is an effective way of maintaining the integrity of nonconforming attitudes, but, as our earlier discussion suggests, the exposed deviant must cope with the problem of status. We may, therefore, propose the following proposition:

Proposition 4: Members of deviant subgroups will tend to have lower status in the larger group than deviants who are not members of such groups.

In the process of coping with status-deprivation, the structure of the deviant subgroup is shaped. Balance theory predicted that deviants will tend to seek each other out and that one outcome of association with like-minded individuals will be the facilitation of resistance to norms. These insights stemming from the psychology of cognition are enriched by coordinating them to propositions formulated by Cohen (1955) concerning the sociology of deviant behavior.

Cohen (1955, Ch. 3) asserts that "the existence, in effective interaction with one another, of a number of actors with similar problems of adjustment" is a precondition for the formation of a deviant subculture. The search for social support, which we have interpreted as being motivated by cognitive strain, provides the basis for this precondition. Cohen views the subculture as emerging out of "tentative, exploratory gestures" which deviant individuals make toward each other.

The emergent is a "compromise formation"--a new set of norms, and new criteria for status--which originated with no single individual, but to which the participants in the subgroup are jointly committed. The new status criteria place high value on the kinds of behavior which the deviants can enact, standards which they are capable of achieving, attitudes which they can accept. Thus those who are status-deprived in the larger system can achieve approval within the subgroup. Moreover, the values of the deviant participants are not only mediated by an emergent status order, but are reflected in shared, distinctive symbols which frequently make the participants uniquely visible as nonconformists. The unique appearance, jargon, etc., communicate to the members of both the subgroup and the larger system an explicit devaluing of the standards and expectations of the larger system. They function also to maintain the solidarity of the group--extremely important if the group is to prevail against the powerful pressures of outsiders. The visible distinctiveness of the participants in the deviant subculture also functions to recruit new members and keep away contaminating ones.¹

We can thus state the following further propositions:

Proposition 5: The status order of the deviant subgroup will be inversely related to the status order of the larger system.

That is, attributes which are devalued by the larger system will be rewarded by the subgroup, and vice versa.

¹This description of the structure and functions of deviant subcultures is heavily indebted to Cohen (1955 and 1959), although he should not be held responsible for any oversimplifications nor for the reformulation of his notion of "ambivalence toward institutional expectations" in balance theory terms. These simplifications and reformulations were required in order to coordinate his propositions to the operations utilized in this study.

Proposition 6: When deviants interact continuously over a period of time they will come to be identifiable by special symbols which they employ.

Proposition 7: Deviants identifiable by these symbols will tend to associate more often with other deviants than will deviants who do not employ these symbols.

Proposition 8: Deviants identifiable by these symbols will tend to identify themselves as deviant more often than deviants who do not employ these symbols.

These propositions, though not the only ones that can be derived from the theoretical notions noted, are those that actually guided our work. From these propositions we developed the following predictions concerning a particular community, Bennington College in the early 1960s, and the effects of its dominant norms on new entrants who deviate from them on their first arrival in the community. These predictions are stated in the form of hypotheses applicable to this particular situation.

Hypothesis 1: Deviants (those who are low in indices of "individualism" and "intellectualism") who tend to associate with one another will tend to be perceived as deviants by others in the community.

1a. Tendencies for deviants to associate with one another will be enhanced by propinquity--for example, there will be a tendency for deviant subgroups to be found in particular houses, and for deviants not in these houses to remain outside of deviant subgroups.

Hypothesis 2: Deviants who are perceived as deviants will tend to perceive themselves as deviants.

Hypotheses 1, 1a and 2 are based on the assumption that students with similar attitudes will tend to seek each other out as friends, and that this "seeking-out" process is dependent on the opportunities--such as propinquity--for interaction. Once subgroups based on attitudinal similarity have formed, then we assume, and predict, that such deviants, as compared with those who remain outside the subgroups, will be visible as deviants. So, if there are stereotypes at Bennington concerning the existence of deviants at the College, we would expect to find subgroups of deviants who fit these stereotypes. When students interact, and are seen by others as interacting and as having a set of deviant characteristics in common, and these students perceive themselves to be deviant, then we can say that these students are involved in a deviant subculture.

Hypothesis 3: Students participating in the deviant subculture will change less in the direction of the norms than deviants who do not participate in this subculture.

Hypothesis 4: The criteria for according status used by students in the deviant subculture will differ from the criteria of status adhered to by deviants who are not involved in the subculture.

Hypothesis 5: Students in the deviant subculture will have lower status in the student body as a whole than deviants who do not participate in the subculture.

Hypothesis 6: Students who do not participate in the deviant subculture will tend to participate less in the community than the subculture participants.

Less formally, but perhaps more clearly, we expect to find that some students at Bennington are initially not predisposed to conform to the Bennington norms. Some of these, at least, we expect will interact with each other and, in the process of interaction, will become visible

as deviants both to the rest of the college and to themselves. The outcome of this process will be called a "deviant subculture." (The ways in which this subculture is defined and its members identified are described below.) We expect divergent consequences for deviants who participate in this subculture and those who do not. We predict that attitudinally, the latter will tend to be absorbed by the dominant culture, while the former will not. In addition to effects on attitude, we expect that the two groups will differ with respect to their status at the College, and also with respect to the kinds of students they accord status to. Finally, we predict that these deviants--both the subcultural participants and non-participants--will contribute disproportionately to the number of people who drop-out from the college, but that this will be particularly true of the "nonsubcultural" deviants, since their lack of support will cause them to experience greater strain. The results of these predictions will be reported below.

RELATED RESEARCH

We shall first draw from three studies in the sociology of deviant behavior. In each social situation described, we shall want to ask: What were the problems of adaptation which the participants confronted? How were these problems dealt with?

1. The underlife of a mental hospital--a case study of deprivation

Goffman (1961, pp. 207-320) has intensively observed the behavior of inmates in a mental institution. In this situation, of course, norms are primarily rules concerning what patients may or may not do, where they may go, what they may eat, the possessions they may have, etc. Thus, the principal problem which inmates have (aside from illness)

involves coping with a variety of deprivations which, from their point of view, are quite arbitrary. Goffman describes how inmates invented "make-do's" (e.g., using shoes for pillows in hard-bench wards); "worked the system" (e.g., using work assignments to obtain special treatment); how they searched for and created special areas free from the surveillance of the staff; how they developed fairly elaborate techniques for transporting "contraband" or communicating with others.

Patients developed techniques of economic exchange, using cigarettes as a currency, engaged in gambling as a means of obtaining wanted goods, etc. The emerging picture is one of an "underlife"--a system of adjustments made by both patients and staff, in which the former overtly adjusted to the latter's rules, while the latter tended to recognize the value of permitting illegitimate practices, so long as order, efficiency and outward deference were maintained.

This pattern of secondary adjustments, Goffman suggests, is similar to that found in prisons, POW camps, and other restrictive, total institutions. There is, however, one unique feature of the life of mental patients which deserves special mention. In most involuntary institutions, it is typical for inmates to perceive attendants as threatening or dangerous. In the mental hospital observed by Goffman, however, two factors militate against this. In the first place, the hospital staff was often deliberately permissive--after all, its role is purported to be helpful as well as custodial--consequently, however restrictive or harsh conditions in the ward might be, it was difficult for patients to define the staff in this way.

Second, it is a frequent observation that prisoners and other inmates often display strong bonds of "reactive solidarity"--both to limit the power of their guards, and to protect and enhance their own secondary adjustment. In the mental hospital, signs of such solidarity were remarkably slight, according to Goffman. This, Goffman asserts, is because the patients, "instead of clinging together to uphold their patient status against the traditional world . . . sought in cliques and dyads to define themselves as normal and to define many of the other patients as crazy. Very few patients, in short, were or came to be proud of being patients."

Thus, mental patients, attempting to cope with the deprivations of the hospital, attempted a variety of adjustments which were individual, rather than collective, in nature. Relations among them tended to be instrumental, rather than communal. Strong forces impelled them to deviate from the imposed norms, but the expression of this deviance was opportunistic, and often depended on fortuitous circumstance and experience.

There was, however, one aspect of the patient "underlife" which was collectively organized. This was the cigarette lighting system, which Goffman states was the only instance of a single informal system operating for all patients. In this system, each patient was obligated to light the cigarettes of any other patient (if he had a light), and expected that other patients would light his. This system had an economic function--matches tended to be scarce--but more significantly, this norm made the patients less dependent on the staff for supplying their needs.

It is interesting that this norm should arise in this way. For it illustrates the key proposition of this study--that collective, joint adaptations to norms will tend to arise when deviant individuals must cope with inferior status.

2. The culture of the dance musician--nonconformity to conventional attitudes

Becker (1963) graphically reports a situation in which deviant individuals have achieved a common, collective adaptation to their problem.

The problem of the dance musician has to do with a sharp conflict between the attitudes and interests he has developed after long periods of training, and the attitudes and interests of the audiences and commercial establishments which use his skills. The musician is motivated to be an artist, to use his skills for self-expression. In the world of "dance" music, the artist is the jazz musician. Audiences and proprietors, however, view the musician's skills quite differently--the former are interested in dancing, the latter in attracting audiences. And it is audiences and proprietors who control the incentives which musicians seek--especially appreciation and money. The dance musician as artist cannot make a viable living; this latter point is reinforced for the musician by pressures from his family, who expect and demand that he bring home a regular income.

To conform thoroughly to the expectations of the "commercial" world is to win the big material prizes; but the price paid by musicians is to sacrifice their own strong inclinations and intrinsic interests in their work.

Out of this conflict there has emerged a distinctive "culture" of the dance musician. The major features of this culture include: intense and manifest disrespect for the "square" audience; an elaborate and distinctive argot, and other special symbols; a status system in which forms of musicianship and styles of life which are disapproved by "squares" are most approved by musicians; a very permissive tolerance for the activities of fellow-musicians.

It is clear that participation in this culture enables the musician to retain his nonconforming attitudes toward music, and his sense of identity, even when he performs in ways that are repugnant to him. By reversing the conventional status order, and by manifestly expressing distance from audiences, musicians are able to reduce their dependence on audiences for approval, and hence able to achieve status in terms of their own values, rather than lose it whenever they express their values.

Unlike Goffman's mental patients, whose problem was largely one of creating advantageous private worlds, the problems of the dance musician--which involve maintaining the integrity of his attitudes and self image--require the development of a new social world, with new norms and ways of evaluation.

3. The culture of the gang--the problem of acute status-deprivation

The subculture of delinquent boys, as described by Cohen (1955), and earlier by Thrasher (1927), contains many of the same elements that Becker found among dance musicians: A "reverse" status-order, in which behavior which the larger society punishes becomes a key to high status in the gang; a special argot, distinctive dress and other special

symbols; strong, overt and aggressive hostility to conventional society; very strong identification with the group by its members. As Thrasher remarked, "The gang boy might well say 'I would rather be a fringer in the hang-out of the gang than to dwell in the swell joints of the dukes forever.'"

Cohen (1955) has suggested that the delinquent subculture represents a solution to the problem of lower-class boys in our society who, in school, in the mass media, in the society at large, confront standards of achievement which they cannot meet. The result is severe "status-frustration"--motivations to succeed in middle class terms converge with the fact of lack of opportunity to produce strong discontent with their status among working class boys. The central characteristic of the delinquent subculture is that it provides criteria for status which can be met by these boys, and that these criteria are specifically and precisely the opposite of standards employed in the middle class. Consequently, participants in delinquent subcultures can achieve status, and simultaneously reject the standards which frustrate them. But unlike the mental patients and dance musicians we have described, the delinquent solution does not enable the boys to achieve some rewards from the larger system while rejecting its norms. On the contrary, the price of the delinquent adaptation is to suffer many of society's most severe sanctions. But it should be noted that society pays, perhaps, an equal price, determined by the large social and economic costs of juvenile delinquency.

These three case studies from the literature of the sociology of deviant behavior illustrate several important generalizations about such

behavior. Many more illustrations could be provided from social life--for example, observations of religious sects, social movements, ethnic minorities, etc.--but all would suggest similar conclusions:

First, whenever "primary adjustment" or conformity to norms involves cost to participants in a social collectivity, there will be attempts at "secondary adjustment" or evasion of the norms.

Second, these attempts at evasion will be successful to the degree that opportunities for evasion are present.

Third, when norms take the form of rules enforced by material incentives, opportunity for evasion depends primarily on ability to avoid surveillance by "norm-senders" or enforcement agents.

Fourth, when standards or attitudes are norms, and acceptance and approval by others is a principal mode of enforcement, then opportunity for evasion depends on others with similar problems of adjustment--the solution is likely to be collective rather than individual.

The key feature of the collective solution is the development of counter-norms and counter-criteria for status within the larger system. This development we shall call a deviant subculture. We saw it in incipient form in the cigarette lighting system of the mental patients, in a more developed state among dance musicians, and finally, among delinquents we found an example of a subculture which had ceased to be contained within a larger system, and instead was acting against it. But regardless of the severity of the deviation, the process seems to have a similar shape in all cases: individuals, unable or unwilling to accept the standards and attitudes of the larger group, and the status

implications of these norms, collectively establish a social situation which reduces their dependence on the larger group, while creating norms to which they can conform.

We now turn to some experimental studies, in which many of the preceding observations of natural groups operating in "real" social environments have been confirmed under more controlled conditions.

The relation between deviance and status is a typical finding in studies of "group dynamics." For example, Festinger, Schachter and Back (1960) found that when norms concerning attitudes toward a tenants' council arose in one part of a housing project, deviants (those who disagreed with the consensus) tended to be sociometrically isolated. In another part of the housing project, normative consensus did not exist, and those who disagreed with the majority were not necessarily isolated.

Schachter (1951) found that when deviation was manipulated, substantial differences in status resulted. Three accomplices were assigned to experimental groups: one, the "deviate" was instructed to maintain a dissident viewpoint in the group; a second, the "slider" was instructed to change from dissidence to conformity; a third, the "modal person" was instructed to conform throughout the group's existence. Of the three accomplices, the deviant always received lowest status, although the largest amount of communication was addressed to him.

One of the most extensive quantitative studies of the relation between norms and status is the survey by Coleman (1961) of "adolescent society" in ten widely divergent American high schools. Although the high schools varied in the degree to which various values were emphasized, in all ten there was a consensus among students which emphasized

prowess in sports, social activities and "personality" as central values. In all cases, students who maximized these values tended to be the most influential and popular in their schools. This was the case even when the formal mechanism of reward in school--grades--was operative; that is, even when most students felt that good grades were important to them individually, intellectual or academic competence were not valued collectively by the students, and intellectually or academically superior students did not necessarily receive high status. Coleman's study firmly establishes the fact that the qualities associated with status differences in a group constitute an excellent index of the group's shared values.

The typical finding concerning the consequences of receiving deviant status for an individual is that the person attempts to increase his ties with other persons. For example:

Maccoby, et al. (1961) found that in an experimental situation students who resisted attempts to influence their attitudes tended to converse mainly with others who agreed with their position.

Snoek (1962) found that subjects who were rejected from a group for "invidious" reasons (having to do with their personal competence and likeability) tended to be more attracted to the original group than subjects who were excluded for noninvidious reasons (not enough room in the group). More dramatically, the invidiously rejected subjects were extremely interested in joining another group, whereas the noninvidiously excluded were not particularly interested in finding another group.

Thibaut (1953) created an "underprivileged" group situation in a laboratory, by consistently favoring one group over another in a game

situation. He found that in groups which were matched for mutual attraction, those who were "under privileged" throughout the experiment became more cohesive than those whose position was allowed to improve after they had protested. The latter group did not show an increase in cohesiveness at the end of the experiment.

Kelley (1951) reports a similar finding with groups arranged in experimentally created hierarchies. Groups receiving low status with no chance at upward mobility were more hostile to high status groups than mobile low status groups were. Moreover, the nonmobile groups were more cohesive than the mobile ones.

Schachter, et al. (1951) instructed experimental groups to perform at a certain rate. They then covertly introduced messages to group members to raise and lower their rates of productivity. The effectiveness of messages to increase output was not related to the cohesiveness of the groups receiving these messages, but the effectiveness of messages to reduce output was strongly related to cohesiveness. The results may be interpreted as showing that resistance to imposed norms depends on the strength of group ties.

A similar result was found by Coch and French (1948) in an experiment conducted in a field situation. Workers restricted their output when new work-rules were imposed on them, whereas workers who participated in the formulation of new rules increased their output. Moreover the resisters became more cohesive, and disciplined, sought union support for their grievances, and expressed hostility toward management and its representatives.

Asch (1952) in his well-known experiments on the effects of group pressure showed that individuals confronted by majority disagreement with their perceptions were much more likely to express their own

perceptions accurately when they received the support of a partner. Naive subjects were less likely to disagree with a majority (even when the latter was "wrong") when they were alone, than when they received support from another person.

These studies are representative of many which demonstrate the following interrelated generalizations: individuals are more likely to express nonconformity or resist norms when they have the support of others; individuals who are accorded low or deviant status are likely to strengthen their ties with those in a similar position. In a sense, the studies cited above reveal the formation of incipient deviant subcultures--the coming-together of people with similar problems of adaptation to imposed norms, and the emergence of new group norms in the process of their association. The convergence of experimental findings and naturalistic observation allows greater confidence in our generalizations about the way deviants cope with the fact of their deviance.

PROCEDURE

The general nature of our data, all of which had been obtained before the beginning of this study, is indicated in Figure 2 and by the materials in the Appendix. One of our principal instruments--The Omnibus Personality Inventory (OPI)--merits fuller description, however. It consisted of 184 forced-choice ("true" or "false") items, answers being recorded on IBM sheets. These 184 items were drawn from the much larger number included in the complete version that was then available to us, through the kindness of the Center for the Study of Higher Education at the University of California, Berkeley. Our criteria for selection (Cf. OPI Manual, 1962) were as follows: (1) contribution to the six scales listed below; (2) insofar as possible, contribution to only one

FIGURE 2

SCALES, INDICES AND INDIVIDUAL ITEMS USED IN THIS STUDY

Type of Item	Dates Used	Items Reprinted in Appendix
<u>Omnibus Personality Inventory</u>		A
First Administration	Fall, 1959 Fall, 1960 (freshmen)	
Second Administration	Spring, 1962	
<u>Sociometric Items</u>		B
"Community Representative"	Fall, 1959; Spring, 1962	
"Admiration"	Fall, 1960	
"Friendship"	Fall, 1960; Spring, 1962	
"Creativity"	Fall, 1960	
"Similarity"	Spring, 1961	
<u>Indices Relating to Subcultures</u>		C
House descriptions	Spring, 1960	
Subgroup descriptions	Fall, 1960	
Bennington stereotypes	Fall, 1960 (freshmen excepted)	
Panel nominations	Spring, 1961 interview Spring, 1962 interview	
Rank-order of subgroups	Spring, 1961	
Clique nominations	Spring, 1962 interview	
<u>Semantic-style Rating Scales</u>		D
First Administration	Spring, 1961	
Second Administration	Spring, 1962	
<u>Interview</u>		E
First	Spring, 1961	
Second	Spring, 1962	
<u>Miscellaneous Items Relating to Norm Acceptance</u>		F
Index of conventionality	Fall, 1960 (freshmen excepted)	
"Small Talk" Index	Fall, 1960	
"Serious Talk" Index	Fall, 1960	
Number of weekends on campus	Spring, 1961	

of these scales; and (3) absence of extreme offensiveness to students, as judged by frequencies of non-response in pretests. The scales to which these items were relevant are labeled and described by their authors as follows:

Atheism-Agnosticism (AA) (6 items) (Now called "Religious Liberalism" by the Center): According to the OPI Manual (1962, p. 6), "high scorers are skeptical of religious beliefs and practices and tend to reject most of them, especially those that are orthodox or fundamentalistic." This scale had 55 items, and a K.R. 21 reliability of .87, based on a sample of 2390 freshmen (OPI Manual, p. 61).

Developmental Status (DS) (52 items): According to the Manual (p. 5), "This scale differentiates between older and younger college students. High scorers are more like seniors in their attitudes and thinking. They express more rebelliousness toward authority, especially when it is institutionalized in family, school, church or state. They are less authoritarian than the low scorers and, at the same time, freer to express impulses." This scale had 72 items and a K.R. 21 reliability of .84 based on the same sample as above.

Estheticism (Es) (50 items): According to the Manual (p. 4). "The high scorers endorse statements indicating diverse interests in artistic matters and activities. The content of the statements in this scale extends beyond painting, sculpture, and music and includes interests in literature and dramatics." This scale had 51 items and a reliability of .87.

Theoretical Orientation (TO) (42 items): According to the Manual (p. 4), "This scale measures interest in science and scientific activities, including a preference for using the scientific method in thinking. High scorers are generally logical, rational and critical in their approach to problems" We did not use the full scale, only those items which appeared on other scales. Our version of TO had 55 items, which means that its reliability was probably lower than the .87 obtained by the authors of the OPI, which a scale length of 88 items.

Originality (Or) (73 items): This scale provides "an index of independence of thought, freedom of expression, novelty of instruction . . . reflects a highly original mode of responding to experience." This is a 91-item scale with a K.R. 21 reliability of .86.

Liberalism (Li) (65 items): A series of items drawn from earlier measures of conservatism by McCloskey and others. The items have to do with resistance and favorability to change. This is an 80-item scale whose reliability is not reported by the scale authors.

As noted below, we were less interested in the separate scale values than in the entire battery as an overall index of norm-acceptance and change.

The problem of identifying deviant cultures began with the exploration of the possibility that divergent subcultures existed in the population being studied. This exploration began when we noticed that certain student houses were described in ways which did not seem to fit the pattern of norms we believed to have been dominant at that time. The terms used to describe these houses were subsequently found to be perceived by the students as forming a coherent pattern. We constructed a preliminary model of the social structure of the student body--a model which said that subgroups would tend to form among those who had common orientations to the prevailing norms. We developed "ideal types"--descriptions of students who differed in their orientation to the norms, and used the language of the students in developing the descriptions of these types. We then found that students could identify actual girls who fit each of these types. And, finally, we found certain marked, even striking, differences among the girls so identified.

Particularly striking and coherent were the differences between the Creative Individualists (those hypothesized to be high on the normative patterns of "individualism" and "intellectualism") and the Social Group (those who, in our model, were expected to be low with respect to acceptance, and in the expected directions). They differed markedly in the amount of prestige accorded them by the rest of the College--again in the directions one would expect. Finally, unlike the other categories we developed, there was a strong tendency for those identified in each of these ways to interact with one another, to choose each other as friends, thus suggesting that their similar orientations were not fortuitous but shared.

It is interesting, too, to note that the Social Group closely resembles the "collegiate" subculture so frequently mentioned in studies of other colleges, while the Creative Individualists are close to the "nonconformist" subcultural pattern frequently found elsewhere. But our exploration of these types revealed one striking difference between Bennington and other colleges (e.g., Vassar). At Bennington, the "collegiate" subculture is deviant rather than dominant in the student community, whereas the "nonconformist" subculture at Bennington represents the prevailing cultural pattern for the student body.

It thus became apparent that an attempt to describe the process of socialization and attitude change at Bennington would have to include a careful analysis of the effects of the deviant subculture as well as the effects of the dominant student culture. We wanted to study, with greater rigor and in more detail, the outcomes of participation in the "collegiate" subculture at Bennington. It was at this point that the theoretical propositions and hypotheses developed previously became relevant. Later on the Collegiate subculture at Bennington is treated as a deviant subculture; predictions are made and tested concerning participants in this subculture based on the theory of deviant subcultures outlined earlier.

Before proceeding to report the process of hypothesis testing, it is necessary to define, in operational terms, what we shall mean by "subculture" and "deviant," in the context of Bennington College.

Identifying the "Collegiate" Subculture

In the spring of 1962 we again interviewed a sample of students. Once again the interview schedule included items asking students to identify others who belonged to certain categories. The original list of six types was reduced to two--Creative Individualists and Social Group. In addition, our interviewees were asked to list the names of students who formed

cliques, or "hung around together a great deal." The information gathered in these ways was used as the basis for delimiting the "collegiate" sub-culture at Bennington and identifying its members. The question concerning cliques posed some difficulty. Altogether, a very large number of students were mentioned in response to the question. Some groups of two, three, four and five or more were mentioned quite frequently by our respondents, but rarely were exactly the same people always listed as belonging with each other. It thus became necessary to establish criteria for reliably assigning students to particular cliques and for limiting the size and extent of the cliques. The criteria established for including an individual student in a clique was as follows: a student was to be included in a clique if she was mentioned at least twice as associating with two or more other members of the clique. Thus the minimum number of persons in a clique was three, and the existence of this group had to be noted by at least two respondents. Altogether, twenty-one groups of three or more students were isolated in this way. Of the twenty-one, the ten largest had six or more students (the largest had fifteen members), the remaining eleven were triads and were not regarded as crucial for defining the social structure of the student body. Some of the cliques were highly concentrated within particular houses, others were composed of students majoring in particular fields, but the principal distinguishing characteristic of each clique tended to be whether Creative Individualists or Social types predominated within it. The sharp differences among the cliques in this respect are illustrated in Table 1. This table shows the proportion of members of each of the ten main cliques who received one or more nominations as either Creative

Individualists or Social. Except for cliques 3 and 7, it is clear from this table that each clique has a heavy preponderance of people nominated for one or the other of these categories.

TABLE 1
PROPORTION OF "CREATIVE INDIVIDUALISTS" AND "SOCIAL" TYPES
IN TEN CLIQUES

Clique	Proportion Receiving At Least One Nomination As:		
	Creative	Social	N
1	94.3%	6.7%	15
2	66.7	13.2	15
3	72.7	100.0	11
4	86.7	21.4	14
5	80.0	0.0	6
6	83.3	33.3	6
7	53.3	46.7	15
8	30.0	70.0	10
9	28.6	71.5	7
10	62.5	0.0	8

Cliques 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, and 10 are heavily composed of "Creative Individualists." Although not as clearly differentiated as these, cliques 3, 8, and 9 are preponderantly Social--50 per cent or more of their members received at least three nominations as Social, and probably the reason why a relatively high proportion of their members also received one or more nominations as Creative Individualists is because the latter category is less reliable than Social. This is illustrated by the fact that of the twenty-eight members of these three cliques

only one received more than three nominations as Creative Individualist, whereas 37.5 per cent of the members of the remaining cliques were nominated more than three times as Creative Individualists.

Based on these considerations, we defined membership in the Social or collegiate subculture (we shall use these labels interchangeably) according to the following criteria:

First, a girl was included in the subculture if she received at least three nominations as a member of the Social Group.

Second, a girl was included in the subculture if she was part of a clique in which at least 50 per cent of the other members had been nominated as Social.

The second criterion was added in order to include those who were seen as interacting with Social types even if they themselves were not reputed to be Social. In part, this was deemed desirable because girls who belonged to a particular group should reflect the influence process in that group; also, this decision was based on the possibility that, for one reason or another, many socially-oriented students would not be directly visible as such.

Thus, designation as Social was based entirely on "objective" criteria--that is, on the reputation of the person, rather than self-report. It is clear that if we are dealing with traits which are "deviant" then many students would not readily admit to possessing them. The technique we used, similar to those used in studies of social stratification in urban communities, seemed to constitute a reasonable approximation of objective observational procedures.

This operational definition does not, of course, establish that the girls so selected do, in fact, constitute a subculture--that is, a set of persons who share a common orientation to the norms of the larger culture and who form an interacting group. Whether or not the procedures outlined above did isolate a subculture will be determined in the process of testing our hypotheses. We are, however, at least reasonably assured that the students selected in this way were seen by others as having a common orientation to the norms and as interacting with each other.

Defining "Deviance" Operationally

The central problem of this study is to determine the ways in which deviants cope with the fact of their deviance. The collegiate subculture at Bennington, which we have been describing at such length, is hypothesized to be one principal mechanism which students who enter the college with deviant predispositions use to cope with their deviance. More concretely, we are assuming that a certain proportion of students enter the college with attitudes which are quite distant from the dominant norms of "individualism" and "intellectualism," and that this fact results in considerable "strain" for them. Participation in the collegiate style of life may be one way of dealing with this strain.

In order to test these notions, we need first to establish operational criteria for classifying entering students as initially "deviant" in their attitudes. The available instrument for measuring initial attitudes and attitude change is the OPI. We shall assume

that those who were initially low on the OPI scales were "deviant" when they entered Bennington. More precisely, those whose scores fell below the median on Developmental Status, Estheticism, Liberalism, Originality and Theoretical Orientation on the first administration of the test are defined as "deviant." Our sample of deviants is further limited by the fact that we can include only those who received both administrations of the test, since those who took the test only once cannot be measured for change. One hundred fifty-seven students completed both administrations of the OPI; of these, thirty-seven fell below the median on all five of the scales mentioned above, and these thirty-seven constitute our sample of "deviants."

The OPI was first administered to the entire college in the fall of 1959, and to all entering freshmen in the fall of 1960. On these first administrations, 109 students fell below the median on all five scales. Of these 109, there were 69 who either graduated or left school before the second administration in the spring of 1962. Thus, our sample does not include three students who were initially deviant and who could have completed the second administration of the OPI but did not. There were also two students who did not take the OPI on the first opportunity, but did take it in the spring of 1962 and fell below the median on all five scales. Thus of the potential "deviants" who could have been in our sample, 88 per cent were actually included.

These thirty-seven students constitute the sample on which most of our hypotheses will be tested. Of the thirty-seven there were sixteen who subsequently participated in the collegiate subculture

(according to our criteria of participation--i.e., they were nominated at least three times as Social in the spring of 1962, or they were part of a clique in which at least 50 per cent of the members had been so nominated). The remaining twenty-one did not meet our criteria for placement as Social. Our hypotheses concerning the effects of participation in a deviant subculture and the structure of that subculture will be tested primarily by comparing these two groups of deviants, although in some cases our findings will be verified by drawing additional matched samples of collegiate and noncollegiate students whose initial scores were less deviant. This procedure has the disadvantage of not utilizing the total population available to us. However, it has several strategic advantages.

In the first place, our two groups are equivalent in initial scores on the OPI. This is especially important if attitude change is to be measured, since initial position on a scale is strongly related to the direction and amount of subsequent change. This is because of "regression" effects--that is, tendencies for persons in extreme positions to move toward the mean of the scale, and because of "ceiling" effects--that is, tendencies for persons who score extremely high initially to change less than those who score low. It is thus important to control on initial position when comparing for amount of attitude change.

Table 2 gives the mean scores on the OPI scales for our two groups of deviants--collegiate and noncollegiate--and for the total College. None of the differences between the two groups approach statistical significance (p is greater than .20 in all cases), while both

groups differ significantly from the mean of the total College in all cases ($p = .01$).

TABLE 2
OPI SCORES IN 1959 OR 1960 FOR TWO GROUPS OF INITIAL DEVIANTS
AND TOTAL COLLEGE

	DS	Es	LI	OR	TO	N
Collegiate deviants	22.7	27.4	37.0	48.2	25.3	16
Noncollegiate deviants	26.6	29.6	40.0	47.2	24.2	21
Total College*	31.1	35.7	47.1	54.8	30.3	548

*Represents all students who ever completed the OPI at least once.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA AND FINDINGS

PATTERNS OF ASSOCIATION

1. Do collegiate deviants tend to have collegiate friends, and non-collegiate deviants noncollegiate friends?

In the spring of 1962 we asked the students to list at least two and not more than five other students whom they considered to be particularly good friends of theirs. These friends were then classified according to the same criteria used in classifying our sample of deviants--i.e., a student was classified as collegiate if she had received at least three nominations as a member of the Social Group or had been listed as a member of a clique in which at least 50 per cent of the members had been so nominated at least three times. Table 3 shows the number of friends of each type of deviant who were classified as collegiate and noncollegiate.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF FRIENDS CLASSIFIED AS COLLEGIATE AND NONCOLLEGIATE
FOR TWO TYPES OF DEVIANTS

Deviant Is:	Friends Are:		Total
	Collegiate	Noncollegiate	
Collegiate	37	22	59
Noncollegiate	6	56	62*
Total	43	78	121

$\chi^2 = 37.9$
df = 1
p .001

*Data not available for one friend.

The data in Table 3 clearly support our expectation that collegiate students would tend to choose collegiate friends; even more striking is the fact that very few of the noncollegiate deviants had any collegiate friends--the twenty-one students in this group had only six collegiate friends among them.

2. Are the friends of collegiate deviants more deviant in their attitudes than the friends of noncollegiate deviant?

Based on the OPI we developed an index of "Deviance." It will be recalled that we defined a deviant as a student who fell below the median on all five scales of the OPI. The extent to which a student deviated from the norms, then, would conveniently be measured by the number of scales on which she fell below the median. A Deviance score of 0 would mean that the student scored above the median on all scales, a Deviance score of 3 means that she scored below the median on three of the five scales. Each friend of our two types of deviants was scored in this way for Deviance, and Table 4 indicates the proportion of friends of each type who had Deviance scores of 0 to 2 and 3 to 5.

TABLE 4
PROPORTION OF FRIENDS WITH LOW AND HIGH DEVIANCE SCORES
FOR TWO TYPES OF DEVIANTS

Deviants Are:	Deviance Score of Friends		Total
	Low (0-2)	High (3-5)	
Collegiate	22	34	56*
Noncollegiate	36	27	63
Total	58	61	119

$$\chi^2 = 3.82$$

$$df = 1$$

$$p < .05$$

*Data were unavailable for three friends.

As Table 4 shows, there was a significant tendency for collegiate deviants to choose friends who had high Deviance scores, and for noncollegiate deviants to choose friends who had low Deviance scores. This tendency is even more markedly revealed in Table 5, which compares the extent to which each type of deviant chose friends who were high in norm acceptance (i.e., had Deviance scores 0) as against friends who were relatively lower (i.e., fell below the median on one or more scales of the OPI). While both groups tended to choose low rather than high-scorers as friends, there was a significant tendency for non-collegiate deviants to choose high-scorers more than the collegiate deviants did.

TABLE 5
NUMBER OF HIGH-SCORING VS. LOW-SCORING FRIENDS
FOR TWO TYPES OF DEVIANTS

Deviant Is:	Deviance Score of Friends		
	0	1-5	Total
Collegiate	6	50	56
Noncollegiate	19	44	63
Total	25	94	119

$\chi^2 = 6.7$
 $df = 1$
 $p < .01$

3. Were collegiate deviants concentrated in particular houses?

Thirty-seven students altogether met our criteria for inclusion in the collegiate subculture (of these thirty-seven, sixteen were

deviant in terms of their OPI scores). If these students had been randomly distributed as to house, there would have been approximately three in each of the twelve houses on campus. Actually, however, thirty of the thirty-seven lived in five houses, only seven were distributed among the remaining seven houses. Each of the five houses--Taylor, Cabot, Adams, Endicott, and Evans--had either 5, 6 or 7 collegiate students, which meant that in each of these houses, members of the collegiate subculture made up about 20 per cent of those living in the house. The discrepancy between the obtained distribution and the expected distribution of collegiate students with respect to house, incidentally, yielded a Chi-square of 26.8 which, with 11 degrees of freedom, has a p of .005. Clearly the collegiate students did tend to concentrate in particular houses. It is interesting, too, to note that three years before this analysis was done--when the composition of the houses was rather different, and when the students who figured in the above analysis were all freshmen and sophomores, two of the houses in which collegiate types are presently concentrated--Taylor and Cabot--were then widely regarded as "collegiate-social-preppy" houses (their own terms). The other three were also mentioned occasionally in these terms, but with a much lower frequency.

When collegiate deviants are compared with noncollegiate deviants it becomes clear that the former are concentrated in four of the five social houses (Endicott had only one collegiate deviant), while the noncollegiate deviants are more randomly distributed, with some tendency for them not to live in these same houses. This finding appears in Table 6.

TABLE 6
DISTRIBUTION IN HOUSES OF TWO TYPES OF DEVIANTS

	Number Living In:		
	4 Social Houses	8 Other Houses	Total
College Deviants	11	5	16
Noncollegiate Deviants	6	15	21
Total	17	20	37
$\chi^2 = 4.3$ $df = 1$ $p < .05$			

VISIBILITY AND AWARENESS

1. Were collegiate deviants more likely to be seen as deviant by others than noncollegiate deviants?

One item on the Spring, 1961 questionnaire asked students to rate themselves on a series of seven-point "semantic differential" rating scales, most of which were designed to be related to the dominant norms of the student culture. Immediately after this, the students were asked to name three others who would be "most similar" and "least similar" to them in their self-ratings. The number of times a student was mentioned as "least similar" seems a reasonably good index of her visibility as a deviant. It was predicted that collegiate deviants

would be more visible--more likely to be named as "least similar"--than noncollegiate deviants. Table 7 indicates that whereas 75 per cent of collegiate deviants received two or more mentions as "least similar" only 40 per cent of the noncollegiate deviants were mentioned at least twice.

TABLE 7
VISIBILITY AS A DEVIANT FOR TWO TYPES OF DEVIANTS

	Number of Mentions as "Least Similar"		
	0-1	2 or more	Total
Collegiate	4	12	16
Noncollegiate	12	8	20*
Total	16	20	36

$$\chi^2 = 3.8$$

$$df = 1$$

$$p = .05$$

*One student was not on campus during this semester.

2. Did collegiate deviants tend to see themselves as more deviant than did noncollegiate deviants?

If collegiate deviants are more visible than noncollegiate deviants we might expect them to see themselves as more distant from the norms in response to the definition of themselves they receive from others.

The "semantic-differential" type rating scales provided a simple way of measuring perceived distance from the norms. In the spring of 1961 the students were asked to rate themselves on these

scales, and also to rate a number of groups of other people, among them "most seniors at Bennington." This procedure was repeated in the spring of 1962 except that "someone admired by most Bennington students" was substituted for "most Bennington seniors" as an object to be rated. The number of correspondences between a student's self-rating and the ratings she gave of each of these concepts, divided by two was used as an index of perceived similarity to the norms. If data were missing from either of these two administrations, the respondent was left out of the analysis. We had substantial data to show that the object "most Bennington seniors" was consistently rated highest of any stimulus object on norm-related scales by most students; similar results were obtained with "someone admired by most Bennington students"--which is why these two objects were chosen to compare with self-ratings. The number of scales on which such comparisons were made was nine in both cases.

Table 8 shows the number of collegiate and noncollegiate deviants who were high and low in perceived similarity to the norms. Of eighteen noncollegiate deviants for whom complete data were available, only one had a perceived similarity score of 2 or less, while eleven of the fourteen collegiate deviants had scores this low, a clear indication of a tendency for collegiate deviants to see themselves as relatively distant from the norms (or perhaps more precisely, from types of persons generally defined as embodying the norms). Just as they had been defined by others as deviant, so, too, did the collegiate types tend to define themselves as deviant.

TABLE 8.

PERCEIVED SIMILARITY TO NORMS OF TWO TYPES
OF DEVIANTS

	Perceived Similarity to Norms		Total
	Low (0-2)	Moderate to High (3 or more)	
Collegiate	11	3	14
Noncollegiate	1	17	18
Total	12	20	32*

$$\chi^2 = 14.9$$

$$df = 1$$

$$p < .001$$

*Complete data were not available for five students.

ATTITUDE CHANGE

1. Did noncollegiate deviants change their attitudes more than collegiate deviants?

Our measure of attitude change is based on a comparison of a student's score on the first and second administration of the OPI scales. The first score on each scale (the ones used were Developmental Status, Estheticism, Liberalism, Originality, and Theoretical Orientation) was subtracted from the second score (obtained two to three years later). The differences thus obtained were summed algebraically, and divided by 5 (the number of separate scales used). The resulting score represents the Attitude Change Score for the individual student. It is important to remember that the initial scores for both collegiate and

noncollegiate deviants were similar. Low scorers on the first administration tended, in general, to change more than those who scored high initially. Consequently, the comparisons to be made here are between groups whose initial means and standard deviations were identical.

Table 9 shows the means on the Attitude Change index for our two types of deviants. Noncollegiate deviants had a mean of 4.8, compared with a mean of 1.3 for collegiate deviants. This difference in means was significant with a probability level of less than .01.

TABLE 9
MEAN ATTITUDE CHANGE FOR TWO TYPES OF DEVIANTS

	Collegiate Deviants	Noncollegiate Deviants
Mean change on OPI	1.3	4.8
Variance	20.4	13.2
N	16	21
t = 2.5		
p < .01		

To check this finding we drew a sample of what might be called "quasi-deviants"--that is, students who scored below the median on three or four scales of the OPI. Again we separated these into collegiate and noncollegiate groups, using the same criteria we had originally established. The results for these two groups are displayed in Table 10.

These two groups exhibited the same pattern of attitude change--collegiate changing much less than noncollegiate, although the amount of

TABLE 10
MEAN ATTITUDE CHANGE FOR TWO GROUPS OF "QUASI-DEVIANTS"

	Students with Deviance Scores of 3-4 Who Were:	
	Collegiate	Noncollegiate
Mean attitude change	0.8	1.9
Variance	13.9	8.6
N	26	11
t = 3.7		
p = .005		

change for both groups was considerably less. The greater change for the lower-scoring deviants undoubtedly is due, at least in part, to regression effects--illustrating the necessity for comparing groups matched for initial score.

Thus, it seems possible to make the generalization that, at Bennington, students who participated in the collegiate subculture were less likely to change in the direction of the norms than students with initially similar attitudes who did not participate in the subculture. Our expectation, then, about the central function of the subculture--to facilitate resistance to influence--is supported by these findings.

STATUS

1. Did collegiate deviants receive lower status from nondeviants than noncollegiate deviants?

In the spring of 1962 we asked the students to name at least two

and not more than five students who would be a worthy representative of the College at a gathering of students from many colleges. This measure, both in the Thirties, and in analysis of results of our earlier questionnaire, turned out to be a reasonably good index of status at the College. Most students receive one nomination or none for "community representative," and a small number receive very many nominations. Creative individualists tend to gather the most nominations.

One of our important assumptions was that participation in a deviant subculture entailed loss of status for the participant. Thus we predicted that Collegiate deviants would have lower status than noncollegiate deviants among nondeviant students--that is, that they would receive fewer nominations for "community representative" from students with Deviance scores of less than 5 than noncollegiate deviants. As Table 11 indicates, this prediction was not supported by our data. In fact, the mean number of nominations received by noncollegiate deviants was lower than the mean for collegiate deviants, although this difference was not significant.

TABLE 11
MEAN NOMINATIONS FOR COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVE FOR
TWO TYPES OF DEVIANTS

	Collegiate	Noncollegiate
Mean nominations from nondeviants	3.3	2.5
S.D.	4.5	4.3
N	16	21
	NS	

It is important to note that included among the "nondeviants" whose nominations were used in this analysis were those collegiate students who had Deviance scores of less than 5. We then hypothesized that collegiate deviants had inflated status due to the nominations they received from other collegiate types. Perhaps if these two sources of status were distinguished then our predictions about the status of collegiate and noncollegiate students in the larger culture would tend to be supported. These data are presented in Table 12.

TABLE 12
NUMBER OF NOMINATIONS FROM "COLLEGIATE" AND "NONCOLLEGIATE"
SOURCES FOR TWO TYPES OF DEVIANTS

Type of Deviant	Source of Nominations		
	Collegiate	Noncollegiate	Total
Collegiate (n = 16)	27	38	65
Noncollegiate (n = 21)	8	58	66
Total	35	96	131
$\chi^2 = 8.3$ $df = 1$ $p = .005$			

It is clear from Table 12 that, on the average, collegiate students receive more nominations than noncollegiate students, but whereas the latter's nominations come almost entirely from noncollegiate students, a very large proportion of the collegiate deviants nominations come from other collegiate students. If the collegiate "vote" is removed, then noncollegiate students have a slightly higher mean number

of nominations, but this difference would not be statistically significant.

Our prediction that collegiate deviants would suffer in status in the larger community compared with noncollegiate deviants is not supported. But our expectation that participants in a deviant subculture do gain in status because of the prestige received from other members of the subculture is supported by the data.

2. Do the criteria for status in the collegiate subculture differ from those of the college as a whole?

Data just reported indicated that girls who participate in the collegiate subculture tend to give prestige to and receive prestige from other members of the subculture. This fact is an important defining characteristic of a subculture. Data now to be summarized indicate that whereas noncollegiate girls tend not to give elite status to students who are visibly collegiate, participants in the collegiate subculture give highest status to just such persons.

Since mean nominations for community representative for total groups of persons are by no means evenly distributed throughout populations, it is perhaps more desirable to examine the attributes of students who are particularly high in the number of nominations they receive.

Thirteen students received ten or more nominations for community representative from sophomores, juniors and seniors. Of these thirteen, seven received four or more nominations from the thirty-seven collegiate students we have identified. The remaining six received three or less

collegiate votes. In addition to the seven highly nominated students who were also chosen by collegiate types, three other students received four or more collegiate votes.

Of these ten students who were highly chosen by collegiate people, five were chosen at least three times by deviants who were collegiate. Of the thirteen students who were highly chosen by the total college, five received three votes or more from the noncollegiate deviants. Thus we are interested in examining the attributes of four overlapping sets of high-prestige people:

- A. 10 students chosen at least 4 times by the total collegiate group.
- B. 6 students chosen at least 10 times by all sophomores, juniors and seniors, but not chosen by collegiate students.
- C. 5 students chosen at least 3 times by collegiate deviants.
- E. 5 students chosen at least 3 times by noncollegiate deviants.

Groups A and B contain different sets of students, but Groups C and D contain students also found in A and B. However, we shall treat all four categories as if they were independent, since the basis on which individuals were assigned to each category was independent of the criteria for assignment for every other category.

We shall first compare these high-status students with respect to their reputation as a collegiate type--operationally, the number of times they were mentioned as collegiate by our panel of interviewees. Reported in Table 13 is, first, the mean number of mentions as collegiate for each group of highly chosen students. The significance of the differences among these groups was evaluated by means of the

Kruskal-Wallis Test which yields a Chi-Square based on a comparison of the sums of the ranks for several samples. In Table 13, T_i represents the sum of the ranks for each group with respect to the number of mentions as collegiate students within each group received.

TABLE 13
MEAN NOMINATIONS AS COLLEGIATE FOR FOUR GROUPS OF
HIGH-STATUS STUDENTS

	Source of Status			
	Collegiate	Sophomores	Juniors	Seniors
	A	B	C	D
Mean nominations as collegiate	3.2	0	3.8	0
T_i	113.5	120	27.5	100
N	10	6	3	3
$\chi^2 = 19.0$				
df = 3				
p < .005				

Table 13 indicates that, despite the overlap in these groups, collegiate students tend to choose other collegiate students for high status, while noncollegiate deviants gave no one with any reputation as collegiate high status. Moreover, the student body as a whole (excluding freshmen) gave high status to a group of six students none of whom received high status among collegiate students. None of these students was ever mentioned as collegiate by our panel of interviewees.

This tendency for collegiate students to accord high status to students who are not prestigious in the larger culture, and to fail to give prestige to students who are high in status in the larger culture is illustrated as well in Table 14. Here the same four sets of high-status students are compared with respect to the number of nominations they received as Creative Individualists from our panel of interviewees. This table indicates that noncollegiate students tend to give high status to Creative Individualists (and this is true for noncollegiate deviants as well as nondeviants), while collegiate students tend to vote for students who are not Creative Individualists.

TABLE 14
MEAN NOMINATIONS AS CREATIVE INDIVIDUALIST FOR FOUR GROUPS
OF HIGH-STATUS STUDENTS

	Source of Status					
	<u>Collegiate</u>	<u>Sopho- mores</u>	<u>Juniors</u>	<u>Seniors</u>	<u>Non- Colleg. Deviants</u>	
	A	B			D	
	<u>Colleg. Deviants</u>				<u>Colleg. Deviants</u>	
	C				D	
Mean nomina- tions as Creative Individualists	1.1	9.0			0.4	6.2
T ₁	173.5	38.5			78.5	40.5
N	10	6			5	5
$\chi^2 = 13.0$						
df = 3						
p < .005						

Our final set of data concerning differences between collegiate and noncollegiate criteria for status is based on a task assigned to the students in spring, 1961--that of rank-ordering the six Bennington types in terms of their desire to be identified as a member of each of the six groups. (Students' labels for the groups were: Creative Individualist, Scholar, Wild Ones, Social Group, Political Activists and Leaders.) The overwhelming preponderance of students preferred to be known as Creative Individualists. We compared our two groups of deviants in terms of the proportion within each group who ranked each type first. The results of this comparison appear in Table 15.

TABLE 15
FIRST CHOICES OF "COLLEGIATE" AND "NONCOLLEGIATE" DEVIANTS
AMONG SIX BENNINGTON TYPES

	Number Giving First Choice to			Total
	Creative Individualist	Social or Leader	Other	
Collegiate Deviants*	2	9	4	15
Noncollegiate Deviants*	12	5	3	20
$\chi^2 = 7.88$				
df = 2				
p < .025				

*One student did not complete this item.

Table 15 indicates that only two out of fifteen collegiate deviants wanted to be identified as Creative Individualist, most

preferring to be known as a member of the Social Group or as a Leader. Sixty per cent of the noncollegiate deviants, on the other hand, wished to be known as Creative Individualists, only one wished to be a member of the Social Group, and seven had other choices. It is clear that the way in which collegiate deviants view the dominant culture, and the referents which such deviants have at Bennington, differ quite radically from both the noncollegiate deviants and from the student body as a whole.

DROP-OUT RATES

1. Were deviants more likely to drop-out than nondeviants?

On the assumption that leaving college before graduation is one way deviant students can cope with the fact of their deviance, we examined the proportion of deviants who dropped out in comparison with the drop-out rate for nondeviants.

Of the students who were attending Bennington in the fall of 1959 and who took the OPI then, or who entered in the fall of 1960 and completed the test in that year, 109 scored below the median on all five scales and hence are classifiable as deviant. Nondeviants numbered 276.

Of the 109 deviants, 44 subsequently dropped out, a proportion of 40.4 per cent.

Of the 276 nondeviants, 81 subsequently dropped out, for a proportion of 29.3 per cent.

The critical ratio for the difference between these two percentages is 2.00, which has a probability of less than .05.

Thus, significantly more deviants, as we have defined them, left Bennington during the years of our study.

2. Were noncollegiate deviants more likely to drop out than collegiate deviants?

We predicted that noncollegiate deviants would show a higher drop-out rate than collegiate deviants, on the assumption that the former would receive less support for, and experience more strain as a result of, their deviant position. Unfortunately, there were not enough drop-outs from our sample of deviants to permit direct comparison between our two types. However, we did have data on deviants who had dropped out in 1960 and 1961 but who had been present when the first attempt to identify collegiate students was made. For these drop-outs we had the number of nominations they had received from our panel of interviewees. We decided, arbitrarily, to classify students as collegiate if they had received at least three such nominations, and non-collegiate if they had received less than three nominations. We did not have, for this earlier group, indications of membership in collegiate cliques, so that, for this prediction our index of collegiate participation is less refined than the one we have so far been using. A more serious difficulty is that nineteen of the forty-four deviant drop-outs had left school during the first year of our study, and we had no information about collegiate participation for them; consequently, our sample of drop-outs which was usable was greatly reduced.

Our prediction was that a larger number of non collegiate deviants would drop-out than collegiate deviants. Of fifty-three

deviants who had received two or less nominations as collegiate, 36 per cent dropped out. Of twenty-six deviants who had received at least three nominations as "collegiate" only six (23 per cent) dropped out. This difference is in the predicted direction, but it is not statistically significant. It is unfortunate that so many of our drop-outs were "lost" before we could acquire more complete data concerning them; we have no way of knowing how they might have affected the differences in drop-out rates between our two groups.

Summary of the Findings

. The data reported in these pages provided strong support for the notion that those we had identified as collegiate students at Bennington did constitute a deviant subculture--an intensively interacting group of students sharing norms which diverge from the dominant student culture and insulating its members from the influences of the larger culture. That these students did associate with each other was indicated by the fact that they chose each other as friends and that they tended to concentrate in particular houses. The insulating function of the subculture was revealed by comparing participants with deviants who did not participate. The latter chose nondeviants as friends, while the former tended to befriend those who shared their initial attitudes rather than those who did not. Noncollegiate deviants tended to change their attitudes in the direction of the college-wide norms, whereas collegiate students did not exhibit such change.

Collegiate deviants clearly gain in interpersonal rewards as compared with noncollegiate deviants. This was demonstrated by the

fact that, while the two types did not differ in the amount of status received from nondeviant students, the collegiate students also received status from the subculture. As compared with noncollegiate deviants, collegiate deviants did not suffer the predicted deficit in status in the larger community. On the other hand, it is clear that participants in the collegiate subculture were not likely to receive very high status in the larger community--those who were prestigious within the deviant subculture did not tend to receive high status outside it. Differences in standards between the collegiate subculture and the dominant student culture were demonstrated by comparing those who received high status in each of the two cultures. Collegiate students voted for other collegiate students but not for Creative Individualists while noncollegiate students showed precisely the opposite pattern. This difference was also illustrated when preferences among various Bennington reference groups were compared. Collegiate deviants preferred to be identified as Leaders or Social but not as Creative Individualists, while noncollegiate deviants preferred the latter type above all others.

Finally, as predicted, we found that deviants do, in fact, "leave the field"; this may be a means for coping with their deviant position. However, we failed to find a statistically significant difference in drop-out rates between "collegiate" and "noncollegiate" deviants. We were, therefore, not able to demonstrate conclusively that participation in a deviant subculture and "leaving the field" represent alternative solutions to problems of adaptation which deviants face.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

SUMMARY

- a. Patterns of association: Collegiate deviants tended to choose other collegiate students as friends, noncollegiate tended to choose friends who were not known as collegiate. Moreover, collegiate deviants tended to have friends whose attitudes, as measured by the OPI, were similar to their own, while noncollegiate deviants chose significantly more friends whose attitudes differed from their own. These findings, first of all, provided confirmation of the expectation that collegiate types did form a subculture--that is, they tended to interact to a high degree with each other. Secondly, the findings pointed to the insulating function of the subculture--collegiate deviants were less likely to expose themselves to the influence of students whose attitudes were dissimilar to their own.

Another interesting finding was the fact that collegiate deviants were concentrated in four of the twelve houses on campus, whereas noncollegiate deviants were randomly distributed with respect to housing. This provided further evidence for the insulating function of the subculture.

- b. Attitude change: As measured by the OPI, collegiate deviants changed their attitudes with respect to Bennington's norms significantly less than noncollegiate deviants. This finding was replicated with collegiate and noncollegiate "quasi-deviants." These results provided strong support for our key theoretical notion that a principal function of the deviant subculture is to facilitate resistance to the norms on the part of its members.

- c. Visibility and awareness: Collegiate deviants were significantly more likely to be seen as deviant by other students than non-collegiate deviants. Based on this fact, we predicted that collegiate deviants would tend to see themselves as more deviant than noncollegiate deviants did. This prediction was clearly supported.
- d. Status: The greater visibility of the collegiate group led us to predict that deviants in this category would receive lower status from nondeviants than deviants who were not in this category. Our findings did not support this prediction--the two groups did not differ significantly in the amount of status they received from nondeviants. However, an analysis of the source of status showed that a large proportion of the collegiate deviants status came from other collegiate students, whereas noncollegiate deviants received virtually no "votes" from this source. Thus collegiate deviants experienced certain gains in status due to their participation in the subculture.

A second finding concerning status had to do with the criteria used by collegiate and noncollegiate deviants for according status. Noncollegiate deviants tended to resemble the student body as a whole in this respect--they accorded status to students who were known as Creative Individualists and did not accord status to students reputed to be collegiate. Exactly the opposite pattern was shown by members of the collegiate subculture. As expected, they gave highest status to other collegiate students, and did not give status to Creative Individualists. Similarly, whereas noncollegiate

deviants resembled the general student body in desiring to be identified as a Creative Individualist, collegiate deviants preferred to be known as a Leader or as collegiate rather than as a Creative Individualist. These findings provided support for our theoretical supposition that deviant subcultures provided alternatives to the status criteria of the dominant culture.

- e. Drop-out rates: As expected, deviants as a group tended to leave the college before graduation at a far higher rate than nondeviants. Our data, however, did not provide clear support for our prediction that dropping out would be an alternative to participation in the deviant subculture. Although collegiate deviants showed a lower drop-out rate than noncollegiate deviants, the obtained difference did not reach statistical significance.

SOME INTERPRETATIONS OF FINDINGS

Our data have shown some clear differences between our two groups of deviants, especially with respect to the kinds of persons they chose to befriend and admire, and with respect to attitude change. We have tended to assume a "causal" relationship between these two facts, that is, we have asserted that the greater attitude change on the part of noncollegiate deviants was related to the fact that they tended to associate with nondeviants, whereas the minimal amounts of change shown by collegiate deviants was related to their interaction with other deviants and their participation in the collegiate subculture. These assumptions are valid only to the extent that one further assumes the following: that any differences that existed between the two groups

initially could not simultaneously account for differences in sociometric patterns and differences in attitude change. It is, however, important to realize that such initial predispositions could have existed--so that, for example, students who later were identified as collegiate were predisposed to choose like-minded students as friends and were also predisposed to resist the norms; whereas noncollegiate deviants were predisposed to avoid friendships with collegiate students and also to accept the norms. For, it must be remembered, the only basis on which these two groups were "matched" was with respect to their OPI scores--and similarity with respect to these scores could be masking important differences between the two groups.

It seems quite likely that these two groups were not identical prior to their arrival on the Bennington campus--and differences between them did affect their subsequent behavior in various ways. However, it is possible to show that the extent of friendship with like-minded students was related to attitude change independent of the "collegiate-noncollegiate" dimension. There was sufficient variance within each of these two categories with respect to these variables to permit us to test directly the hypothesis that the extent of attitude change by a deviant is related to the extent of her friendship with nondeviants.

Table 16 presents data relevant to this hypothesis. Deviants having two or more friends with deviance scores of 3 or higher are compared with deviants whose friends did not meet this criterion (the higher the deviance score, the more deviant the friend). Deviants who tended to have nondeviant friends showed significantly more attitude change on the average, than deviants whose friends tended to be deviant.

TABLE 16

ATTITUDE CHANGE BY DEVIANCE OF FRIENDS

	Deviance of Friends	
	High	Low
Mean change on OPI	2.0	4.8
Variance	18.5	15.3
N	19 ^a	18 ^b

$$t = 2.0$$

$$df = 35$$

$$p = .05 \text{ (two-tailed)}$$

^aIncludes 10 collegiate and 9 noncollegiate deviants.

^bIncludes 6 collegiate and 12 noncollegiate deviants.

Table 16 suggests that, regardless of whether a deviant was categorized as collegiate or noncollegiate, attitude change was, in fact, related to the degree to which she associated with nondeviants.

Patently, similarity between one's own attitudes and those of one's friends is not the only determining influence with respect to attitude change. But the above finding does provide support for our assumption that these variables are related to each other, and that our findings concerning the differences between collegiate and noncollegiate deviants are not due entirely to predispositional differences between the two types.

Perhaps the best interpretation to be given to our data is that, in fact, there were important differences between students destined to

become collegiate, and those who did not participate in that subculture. It is likely that collegiate students were, for one reason or another, more strongly predisposed to resist the norms than noncollegiate students. But the crucial point seems to be that without participation in the deviant subculture such resistance to the norms would have been much more difficult if not impossible, if the student continued to remain at Bennington.

Our study has left open the important question of just what were the factors which predisposed particular students to resist the norms. We have already pointed out that deviants are likely to resist conformity when such conformity would entail substantial cost to them; when imposed norms present specific problems of adaptation for individuals, then "secondary adjustments" and deviant subcultures tend to arise. Our study has failed to specify in concrete terms the particular problem(s) of adjustment which led students at Bennington to participate in the collegiate subculture--problems which noncollegiate deviants apparently did not face to the same degree. In part, participation in the subculture may have been due to ecological factors--deviants who were placed in collegiate houses may have been more likely to participate in the subculture, for example. But such factors could not account entirely for the variance--some collegiate students did not live in collegiate houses, and some noncollegiate deviants did live in such houses.

This issue--namely, what determines the decisions of students to participate in particular campus subcultures--is an important next step in research on student peer culture. For it is now clear--and

this study has provided further evidence to show--that such cultures have an important determining influence on student responses to higher education.

One important source of hypotheses concerning the roots of the collegiate subculture, and the kinds of adaptive problems which collegiate-oriented students face, is the highly popular best-seller, The Feminine Mystique, by Betty Friedan (1963). Mrs. Friedan's speculations concerning the feminine role in contemporary American society seem highly relevant to Bennington College. Her chief hypothesis is that there is an increasing and highly organized tendency to define the feminine role as one of domesticity and housewifery, and to define as deviant women who seek independent identity, a career, and personal autonomy.

Mrs. Friedan suggests that what we have defined as the collegiate subculture, particularly as it manifests itself in colleges such as Vassar, is but a reflection of the feminine mystique--the tendency for women students to define their role in college primarily in social terms and to specifically reject involvement in intellectual affairs represents, for Betty Friedan, preliminary socialization for the role of housewife-and-mother.

Carrying these speculations one step further, it is interesting to note that Bennington has consciously avoided the path travelled by some other women's colleges. Bennington's norms remain rather militantly anti-housewifery, and very markedly in favor of "the experiences, the testing, the failures and successes in various spheres of activity

that are necessary for a person to achieve full maturity, individual identity" (Friedan, 1963, p. 180).

Thus, students who have been strongly inculcated with the ideology of the feminine mystique may be highly threatened by Bennington's norms. We may hypothesize--and suggest for further research--that the concrete problem which eventuates in the development of the collegiate subculture is the conflict between the norms symbolized by the Feminine Mystique and those promulgated at an institution such as Bennington.

This hypothesis needs qualification at the outset, however. For the collegiate subculture is not restricted to women; in fact, its historical origins seem to lie in the fraternities of state universities, rather than the houses of Eastern women's colleges. And, as Trow (1959) has pointed out, the problem of anti-intellectualism and provincialism in American higher education is neither as recent nor as simple as Mrs. Friedan's discussion of the Feminine Mystique would suggest. A full program of research on the sources of student peer cultures would entail consideration of identity problems among American adolescents, the functions of higher education for different social strata in our society, problems of decision-making and alienation with respect to occupational choice, ethnic, regional and ecological subcultures in the larger society, and so on. Such a program would be inevitably complex, therefore, but if, as seems apparent, the student peer culture is a major agent of socialization for members of the American middle and upper classes, then such a program is well worth undertaking.

APPENDIX A

FINAL FORM OF THE OMNIBUS PERSONALITY INVENTORY

APPENDIX A

FINAL FORM OF THE OMNIBUS PERSONALITY INVENTORY

- | <u>Scale</u> | |
|--------------|--|
| Or | 1. Once I have made up my mind I seldom change it. (F) |
| Or,DS | 2. The trouble with many people is that they don't take things seriously enough. (F) |
| L,DS | 3. Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of losing contact with your family. (F) |
| Es | 4. I analyze what I like or dislike about a movie or play which I have seen. (T) |
| TO,Es,Or | 5. I enjoy reading essays on serious or philosophical subjects. (T) |
| AA | 6. I pray several times a week. (F) |
| Es,TO,Or | 7. I give more attention to the action of the story than to the characterizations or to the form and style of the literature I read. (F) |
| DS | 8. I have often either broken rules (school, club, etc.) or inwardly rebelled against them. (T) |
| DS | 9. Human passions cause most of the evil in the world. (F) |
| L,TO,Or | 10. It is best to avoid friendships with persons whose ideas make them unpopular. (F) |
| Es | 11. I find that a well-ordered mode of life with regular hours is not congenial to my temperament. (T) |
| Es,Or | 12. I enjoy listening to poetry. (T) |
| Or,DS,TO | 13. I question statements and ideas expressed by my teachers. (T) |
| Es,Or | 14. I like dramatics. (T) |

Scale

- DS 15. I dislike following a set schedule. (T)
- L,TO,Or 16. I dislike assignments requiring original research work. (F)
- TO,DS 17. At times I have very much wanted to leave home. (T)
- L,Or 18. I disagree with statements and ideas expressed by my classmates. (T)
- Or 19. My parents and family find more fault with me than they should. (F)
- TO,Es 20. I like to read serious, philosophical poetry. (T)
- DS 21. I would be uncomfortable in anything other than fairly conventional dress. (F)
- DS 22. Our thinking would be a lot better if we would just forget about words like "probably," "approximately," and "perhaps." (F)
- Es,Or,TO 23. I like to write my reactions to and criticisms of a given philosophy or point of view. (T)
- DS 24. For most questions there is just one right answer, once a person is able to get all the facts. (F)
- AA 25. There must be something wrong with a person who is lacking in religious feeling. (F)
- L,DS 26. Lawbreakers are almost always caught and punished. (F)
- Or,DS 27. I seldom think about sex. (F)
- Or 28. I find that I have difficulty in dealing with most people. (F)
- L,Es,Or,TO 29. I like to fool around with new ideas, even if they turn out later to have been a total waste of time. (T)
- Es,Or,TO 30. I enjoy solving problems of the type found in geometry, philosophy, or logic. (T)
- DS 31. I have never felt better in my life than I do now. (F)
- DS 32. I believe we are made better by the trials and hardships of life. (F)

Scale

- L 33. When someone talks against certain groups or nationalities, I always speak up against such talk even though it makes me unpopular. (T)
- Es,DS 34. I like modern art. (T)
- DS 35. I have used alcohol excessively. (T)
- DS 36. At times I have a strong urge to do something harmful or shocking. (T)
- L 37. It is better never to expect much; in that way you are rarely disappointed. (F)
- Es 38. Trends toward abstractionism and the distortion of reality have corrupted much art of recent years. (F)
- Es 39. When I go to a strange city I visit museums. (T)
- DS 40. I have had periods of days, weeks, or months when I couldn't take care of things because I couldn't "get going." (T)
- Or,DS 41. I do not always tell the truth. (T)
- L,DS 42. One of my aims in life is to accomplish something that would make my mother proud of me. (F)
- Or 43. Often I can't understand why I have been so cross and grouchy. (F)
- Es,L,TO 44. Usually I prefer known ways of doing things rather than trying out new ways. (F)
- L,Es 45. I like to listen to primitive music. (T)
- L,DS 46. It is a good rule to accept nothing as certain or proved. (T)
- AA,DS 47. I go to church or temple almost every week. (F)
- Es,TO 48. I leave the radio tuned to a symphony concert rather than to a program of popular music. (T)
- DS 49. Some of my family have habits that bother and annoy me very much. (T)
- Es,Or,L 50. I show individuality and originality in my school work. (T)

Scale

- Es,Or,TO 51. My conversations with friends usually deal with such subjects as mutual acquaintances and social activities. (F)
- DS 52. The best theory is the one that has the best practical applications. (F)
- Es 53. I study and analyze my own motives and reactions. (T)
- Es,Or 54. I dislike being assigned to write a short story, play, essay or song. (F)
- Es 55. I enjoy looking at paintings, sculpture, and architecture. (T)
- Es 56. I would like to be an actor on the stage or in the movies. (T)
- Es 57. I prefer popular music to classical music. (F)
- L 58. Women are happiest when they can be maternal. (F)
- Or 59. I have been quite independent and free from family rule. (T)
- Or 60. I have been afraid of things or people that I knew could not hurt me. (F)
- Es,Or 61. Facts appeal to me more than ideas. (F)
- TO,Es 62. If I were a university professor and had the necessary ability, I would prefer to teach chemistry and physics rather than poetry. (F)
- L 63. I would rather remain free from commitments to others than risk serious disappointment or failure later. (F)
- Es 64. I am more sensitive than most people. (T)
- Or 65. Teachers often expect too much work from students. (F)
- Es,Or,TO 66. As a youngster I acquired a strong interest in intellectual and aesthetic matters. (T)
- Es 67. I tend to make friends with men who are rather sensitive and artistic. (T)
- L,Or 68. In most ways the poor man is better off than the rich man. (F)

Scale

- L,TO 69. I have frequently found myself, when alone, pondering such abstract problems as free will, evil, etc. (T)
- Es 70. I enjoy hearing a great singer in an opera. (T)
- Or,Es 71. I would like to be a journalist. (T)
- DS 72. I would be ashamed not to use my privilege of voting. (F)
- Es 73. I have spent a lot of time listening to serious music. (T)
- TO,Es 74. I like to work late at night. (T)
- Or 75. I am easily embarrassed. (F)
- Es 76. I enjoy reading Shakespeare's plays. (T)
- Es 77. Much of my life I've dreamed about having enough time to paint or sculpture. (T)
- Es 78. I like to read criticisms of articles or books I have previously read. (T)
- L,Es,TO, Or 79. I would like to enter a profession which requires much original thinking. (T)
- L 80. It doesn't bother me when things are uncertain and unpredictable. (T)
- DS 81. It is annoying to listen to a lecturer who seems unable to make up his mind about what he really believes. (F)
- DS 82. I have several times had a change of heart about my life work. (T)
- DS 83. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen, I would probably do it. (T)
- TO,Es,Or 84. I like to discuss philosophical problems. (T)
- L 85. More than anything else, it is good hard work that makes life worthwhile. (F)
- DS 86. Kindness and generosity are the most important qualities for a wife to have. (F)
- Es 87. I would like to collect prints of paintings which I personally enjoy. (T)

Scale

- DS 88. A person who doesn't vote is not a good citizen. (F)
- Or,DS 89. Straightforward reasoning appeals to me more than metaphors and the search for analogies. (F)
- L,DS 90. A strong person will be able to make up his mind even on the most difficult questions. (F)
- DS 91. In illegitimate pregnancies abortion is in many cases the most reasonable alternative. (T)
- Or,DS,TO 92. My home life was always happy. (F)
- Es 93. I am fascinated by the way sunlight changes the appearance of objects and scenes. (T)
- DS 94. I always tried to make the best school grades that I could. (F)
- Or 95. Something exciting will almost always pull me out of it when I am feeling low. (F)
- ES 96. I think I feel more intensely than most people do. (T)
- L,TO,Es, DS,Or 97. I don't like to work on a problem unless there is the possibility of coming out with a clear-cut and unambiguous answer. (F)
- Es 98. Sometimes I find myself "studying" advertisements in order to discover something interesting in them. (T)
- Or 99. A person does not need to worry about other people if only he looks after himself. (F)
- Or 100. A person should adapt his ideas and his behavior to the group he happens to be with at the time. (F)
- L,DS 101. I have never done anything dangerous for the thrill of it. (F)
- DS 102. I have very few quarrels with members of my family. (F)
- L,DS 103. In the final analysis, parents generally turn out to be right about things. (F)
- DS 104. I have never indulged in any unusual sex practices. (F)
- Or 105. Perfect balance is the essence of all good composition. (F)

Scale

- DS 106. My daily life is full of things that keep me interested. (F)
- Es 107. I like to read about artistic or literary achievements. (T)
- Es,Or 108. I have at one time or another in my life tried my hand at writing poetry. (T)
- DS 109. I have never done any heavy drinking. (F)
- DS 110. I have often gone against my parents' wishes. (T)
- TO,DS 111. I should like to belong to several clubs or lodges. (F)
- Es 112. I am interested in the historical changes and developments in American jazz. (T)
- L 113. Generally speaking men won't work hard unless they're forced to do so. (F)
- DS 114. I like to talk about sex. (T)
- L 115. Husbands, rather than wives, should have the final voice in family matters. (F)
- L 116. Army life is a good influence on most young men. (F)
- TO,Or 117. I like short, factual questions in an examination better than questions which require the organization and interpretation of a large body of material. (F)
- L,Or 118. The most important qualities of a husband are determination and ambition. (F)
- Es,Or 119. Courses in literature and poetry have been as satisfying to me as most other subjects. (T)
- L,Or,Es, TO 120. I don't like to undertake any project unless I have a pretty good idea how it will turn out. (F)
- Es,DS,L 121. I dislike women who disregard the usual social or moral conventions. (F)
- AA,L,DS 122. In religious matters I believe I would have to be called a skeptic or an agnostic. (T)
- DS,L,TO, Or 123. I would rather be a brilliant but unstable worker than a steady and dependable one. (T)

<u>Scale</u>		
L,TO,Or, DS	124.	Only a fool would try to change our American way of life. (F)
DS	125.	Families owe it to the city to keep their sidewalks cleared in the winter and their lawns mowed in the summer. (F)
L,DS,Or	126.	Disobedience to the government is sometimes justified. (T)
Es	127.	I think I take primarily an aesthetic view of experience. (T)
L	128.	I am uninterested in discussions of the ideal society or Utopia. (F)
L	129.	I discuss the causes and possible solutions of social, political, economic, or international problems. (T)
L,TO	130.	I am more interested in the application of principles and theories than in the critical consideration of them. (F)
L,Or	131.	I have difficulty in imagining the reaction of a person of another period, race, or country, to a given situation or environment. (F)
L,TO	132.	I would enjoy writing a paper explaining a theory and presenting the arguments for and against it. (T)
L	133.	I am slow to accept new acquaintances as friends. (F)
L,TO	134.	Good rules of etiquette are very important. (F)
L	135.	A man doesn't really get to have much wisdom until he's well along in years. (F)
L	136.	All groups can live in harmony in this country without changing the system in any way. (F)
L,TO,Or	137.	I prefer the practical man any time to the man of ideas. (F)
L,TO	138.	I want to know that something will really work before I am willing to take a chance on it. (F)
L	139.	I enjoy listening to debates and discussions on social, economic, or political problems. (T)

Scale

- L 140. I am more interested in learning facts than in relating them to my ideas and previous experiences. (F)
- L,TO 141. I would enjoy writing a paper on the possible long-term effects or outcomes of a significant research discovery. (T)
- L,TO 142. I enjoy a thought-provoking lecture. (T)
- Or 143. These days I find it hard not to give up hope of amounting to something. (F)
- L 144. I believe I can influence my congressman if I want to. (T)
- L,TO,Or 145. It's better to stick by what you have than to be trying new things you don't really know about. (F)
- L 146. I would be willing to give money in order to right a wrong even though I was not mixed up in it in the first place. (T)
- L 147. If you start trying to change things very much you usually make them worse. (F)
- L 148. I will probably belong to more than one political party in my lifetime. (T)
- AA,L,TO 149. It doesn't matter to me what church a man belongs to, or whether or not he belongs to a church at all. (T)
- TO 150. I would like to wear expensive clothes. (F)
- Or 151. I must admit I have no great desire to learn new things. (F)
- Or 152. I read at least ten books a year. (T)
- Or 153. I commonly wonder what hidden reason another person may have for doing something nice for me. (F)
- Or 154. I wish I could be as happy as others seem to be. (F)
- L 155. Some ideas which come to me are accompanied by such a strong feeling of urgency that, regardless of their usefulness, I can think of little else. (F)
- L 156. What is lost in life seems more vivid than what is gained. (F)

Scale

- Or 157. To accomplish something it is essential to concentrate on one thing, even to the extent of being narrow. (F)
- L 158. I would enjoy showing foreigners around my town or state. (T)
- Or 159. I practically never blush. (T)
- Or 160. I would like the job of a foreign correspondent for a newspaper. (T)
- Or 161. I would describe myself as a pretty "strong" personality. (T)
- Or 162. I read a great deal even when it is not required in my work. (T)
- Or 163. I am apt to hide my feelings in some things, to the point that people may hurt me without their knowing it. (F)
- Or 164. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down. (F)
- Or 165. Every person ought to be a booster for his own home town. (F)
- Or 166. Criticism or scolding hurts me terribly. (F)
- TO,Or,L 167. We should respect the work of our forefathers and not think that we know better than they did. (F)
- Or 168. My mood depends mostly on how I am doing in my work. (F)
- TO,L,Or 169. People ought to be satisfied with what they have. (F)
- Or 170. I don't blame anyone for trying to grab all he can get in this world. (F)
- Or 171. I am quite a fast reader. (T)
- TO,Or 172. It is hard for me to work intently on a scholarly problem for more than an hour or two at a stretch. (F)
- TO,Or 173. If something grows up over a long time, there will be much wisdom in it. (F)
- Or 174. I have more trouble concentrating than others seem to have. (F)

Scale

- TO,Or 175. I am apt to pass up something I want to do when others feel that it isn't worth doing. (F)
- TO,Or 176. When I sit down to study it is hard to keep my mind on the material. (F)
- L 177. I sometimes change my political opinions. (T)
- L,TO 178. I believe it is a responsibility of intelligent leadership to maintain the established order of things. (F)
- L 179. Maybe some minority groups do get rough treatment, but it's no business of mine. (F)
- AA 180. I am more religious than most people. (F)
- Or 181. I must admit I am a pretty fair talker. (T)
- Or 182. I frequently ask people for advice. (F)
- Or 183. A person who lets himself get tricked has no one but himself to blame. (F)
- L 184. There is too much emphasis in school on the intellectual and theoretical topics, not enough on practical matters. (F)

APPENDIX B

SOCIOMETRIC ITEMS

APPENDIX B

SOCIOMETRIC ITEMS

1. "Community Representative" (Fall, 1959; Spring, 1962)

It is important for the purposes of this study to have the information requested on this page. Please bear in mind in answering these brief questions, that neither your own name nor that of the persons whom you list will ever appear on the records as names. All names will immediately be translated into code numbers, and the "translators" will be clerks in a distant city who are interested only in recording that X 27 named C 49, etc.

Suppose there was to be an important gathering of representative students from every type of American college during the coming summer. Each of the colleges selected is to be represented by three students. These students are to be chosen by their fellow students --not for their ability to speak in public, nor for any other special ability, but merely as worthy representatives of their institutions. The only purpose of the gathering is that of informal association of the students with each other. It is fair to assume that Bennington College will be judged, to a greater or less extent, by the students who represent it.

What three students, now in college, would you choose as most worthy of representing Bennington College? The order in which you give the three is of no significance. Please consider only the individual's characteristics, capacities, achievements, etc., and not such things as major fields of study.

2. "Friendship" (Fall, 1960; Spring, 1962)

Please enter below the names of at least two students (and no more than five) whom you consider to be particularly good friends of yours.

3. "Admiration" (Fall, 1960)

Please enter below the names of at least two students (and no more than five) whom you particularly admire--no matter for what reasons.

_____	_____
_____	_____

4. "Creativity" (Fall, 1960)

Please enter below the names of at least two students (and no more than five) whom you consider to be unusually creative or original.

_____	_____
_____	_____

5. "Similarity" (Spring, 1961)

Now that you have rated yourself on these scales, think about how other students at Bennington might rate themselves on these scales. Please name at least two and not more than five Bennington students who you believe would rate themselves in generally the same or nearly the same way you have rated yourself:

_____	_____
_____	_____

Now please name at least two and not more than five Bennington students whom you believe would probably be least similar to you in rating themselves:

_____	_____
_____	_____

APPENDIX C

ITEMS RELATING TO SUBCULTURES

APPENDIX C

ITEMS RELATING TO SUBCULTURES

1. "House Descriptions" (Spring, 1960)

Is there anything characteristic about the students who live in the various houses on campus? Briefly comment on each of the following:

2. "Subgroup Descriptions" (Fall, 1960)

Any group as large as the Bennington student body contains smaller sets of people who share certain interests, attitudes, or values. What kinds of such subgroups have you observed at Bennington? Number each group and write a brief description of the group. (A few phrases will suffice.)

3. "Bennington Stereotypes" (Fall, 1960)

For students in their 2nd, 3rd, and 4th year at Bennington.

Below is a list of terms which were taken from students' replies to last year's questionnaires. These were some of the terms which were used to describe Bennington students or groups of Bennington students. Go through the list quickly and put a check next to each term which is favorable as far as you are concerned.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. all around | 15. free thinkers |
| 2. American girl type | 16. gung-ho |
| 3. Ann Carter | 17. horsey |
| 4. arty | 18. intellectual |
| 5. beat | 19. "old Bennington" type |
| 6. Benningtonian | 20. preppy |
| 7. bo-ho | 21. Smith |
| 8. collegiate | 22. social |
| 9. community-minded | 23. socialites |
| 10. conscientious | 24. social science types |
| 11. conservative | 25. swinging |
| 12. debs | 26. tweedy |
| 13. eccentric | 27. wild |
| 14. folksy | 28. woodsy |

Some of the terms listed above may have similar meanings or may be used to describe the same type of person. Group the terms that seem to go together. You do not have to use all of the terms. (Write your answer in the space below--use the number rather than the word itself.)

4. "Rank-Order of the Subgroups" (Spring, 1961)

Last term you may recall that we asked students to describe the kinds of subgroups they noticed on campus. A wide variety of groups was mentioned, but there were several which were mentioned more frequently. Below are brief descriptions, taken from questionnaires of students, of six of these groups.

These descriptions are, of course, brief generalizations and are probably inadequate in describing individuals. Perhaps you do not agree with all of the details in these descriptions. Still, we would like to get some idea of how you feel about these groups. How would you feel about being identified as a member of one of these groups? Put a "1" next to the group you would most prefer to be identified with (or the group you would least object to, if you would not like to be identified with any of them), a "2" before the group you would next most prefer to be identified with, and so on down to "6," representing the group you would least like to be identified with. Of course, it is very possible that you are not, and would not like to be a member of any of these groups. Still, we would like you to imagine that you had to choose among them.

- "Political Activists"--"people interested in public affairs, interested in civil rights, sane nuclear policy . . . circulate petitions . . . civic-minded reformists either of campus politics or of social conditions in the country as a whole."
- "Leaders"--"particularly interested in Bennington College government . . . organize committees or groups . . . may be characterized by friendliness among major part of student body."
- "Creative Individualists"--"girls who sincerely believe in certain principles and who stick by those though they are usually opposed by society in general . . . people who feel they are superior intellectually and more sophisticated than other people . . . "intellectual snobs" according to some . . . seem very dedicated to creative pursuits . . . imaginative and free thinking."

— "The Social Group"--"very interested in their social life and talk about little else . . . do enough work to pass their courses, but main interest is in having as much fun as possible . . . concentrate on dating and meeting boys . . . because of interest in social life, may mask their intelligence . . . characterized as "preppy" by some . . . generally neat in appearance."

— "The Wild Ones"--"wild, free, bizarre girls caring little about work and a lot about excitement . . . uninhibited, generally unkempt . . . try to be as different from everyone else as they can . . . love having wild parties . . . may feel they are misunderstood."

— "Scholars"--"those who seem to concentrate only on their work . . . seem to do little but study . . . come out for air group . . . definite scholars . . . sublimate social interests . . . seem to spend most of their time in the library."

Thinking about the group you have ranked "1," how would you feel about being identified with this group? (Place an x on the line.)

extremely favorable____:____:____:____:____:____:____extremely unfavorable

5. "Interview Items on the Subgroups" (Spring, 1961)

Last fall we asked the students to describe for us the kinds of subgroups they have observed at Bennington. Although a great variety of groups was mentioned, a few important types were noted by almost everyone. What we would like you to do is to help us sort students at Bennington into these various groups. (PRESENT FIRST PAGE) At the top of this page is a description of a frequently mentioned group at Bennington. The terms used in this description are those employed by students themselves. If some of the descriptive words are derogatory or complimentary, this does not represent our feelings about the groups. All we are interested in is whether you think this group exists--not whether it should or should not exist. Now, please read the description carefully. (AFTER READING) Any comments or questions about this description?

Of course this description is a generalization, and can't fit any individual perfectly. Nevertheless, some people are probably closer to this description than others. Here is a list of students who are at your year level. Read the list and tell me which students might be described in this way.

(REPEAT THE FOLLOWING WITH EACH SUBSEQUENT DESCRIPTION) Now please read the description on the next page carefully. Put a check next to the name of each student on this list whom you think might be described in this way. (STUDENTS WERE PRESENTED WITH THE DESCRIPTIONS OF THE SIX TYPES LISTED ABOVE.)

Concerning the six groups we have been talking about, do you think the members of any of these hang around together a great deal? Read through each description again quickly, and tell me which of these sets of people tend to spend a good deal of time with each other, as far as you know.

- (a) Have you noticed any other distinctive groupings of people on campus?
- (b) For example, do the people in any of the houses seem to have distinctive characteristics?
- (c) (IF YES) Which houses are these, and how are they distinctive?
- (d) What about the various divisions or majors? Is there anything distinctive about the people who major in various things on campus?
- (e) (IF YES) Which majors are these, and how are they distinctive?
- (f) Are there any other groups on campus who might be described as having distinctive characteristics?

6. "Interview Items on Cliques and Types" (Spring, 1962)

One of the important things about the student body of a college is the pattern of friendships which develops among students. We'd like you to help us determine some of the ways in which Bennington students related to each other. One thing we're interested in is the number and membership of any closely-knit groups of friends which might exist on campus. On this sheet (MARKED "STUDENTS BELONGING TO CLOSE-KNIT GROUPS") I'd like you to write down the various groups that you know about. Of course, nobody except our coders at Michigan will see these names since they will all be converted into code numbers. Also your name will never be associated with your answers.

At the top of this page is a description of a frequently mentioned type of person at Bennington. The terms used in this description are those employed by students themselves. If some of the descriptive words are derogatory or complimentary, this does not represent our feelings about the groups. Of course this description is a generalization and can't fit any individual perfectly. Nevertheless, some people are probably closer to the description than others. Read the description carefully and write down on the sheet the names of students who might be described in this way.

Here is a second type of person which students have described for us. Read the description carefully and write down on the sheet the names of students who might be described in this way.

Where do you think you would fit with respect to the various types and groups we've mentioned? Are there any closely-knit groups which you belong to?

Do you think other people might mention you as a "creative individualist"?

Do you think other people might mention you as a member of the "social group"?

APPENDIX D

SEMANTIC STYLE RATING SCALES

APPENDIX D

SEMANTIC STYLE RATING SCALES

1. First Administration (Spring, 1961)

MOST OF MY FRIENDS AT BENNINGTON

interested in national and inter- national affairs _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:	not interested in national and inter- national affairs _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:
not unconventional in dress or appearance _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:	unconventional in dress or appearance _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:
not unconventional in opinions or beliefs _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:	unconventional in opinions or beliefs _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:
intellectual _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:	not intellectual _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:
tense _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:	relaxed _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:
dedicated to a special field _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:	not dedicated to a special field _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:
conservative _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:	not conservative _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:
critical of rules _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:	accepting of rules _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:
impulsive _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:	deliberate _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:
interested in religion _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:	not interested in religion _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:
compliant _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:	defiant _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:
absorbed in social life and dating _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:	not absorbed in social life and dating _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:
absorbed in studies and academic work _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:	not absorbed in studies and academic work _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:

MOST OF MY NON-BENNINGTON FRIENDS

interested in
national and inter-
national affairs _____

not interested in
national and inter-
national affairs _____

not unconventional
in dress or
appearance _____

unconventional
in dress or
appearance _____

not unconventional
in opinions or
beliefs _____

unconventional
in opinions or
beliefs _____

intellectual _____

not intellectual _____

tense _____

relaxed _____

dedicated to a
special field _____

not dedicated to a
special field _____

conservative _____

not conservative _____

critical of rules _____

accepting of rules _____

impulsive _____

deliberate _____

interested in
religion _____

not interested in
religion _____

compliant _____

defiant _____

absorbed in
social life
and dating _____

not absorbed in
social life
and dating _____

absorbed in
studies and
academic work _____

not absorbed in
studies and
academic work _____

MOST BENNINGTON FRESHMEN

interested in national and international affairs _____ not interested in national and international affairs _____

not unconventional in dress or appearance _____ unconventional in dress or appearance _____

not unconventional in opinions or beliefs _____ unconventional in opinions or beliefs _____

intellectual _____ not intellectual _____

tense _____ relaxed _____

dedicated to a special field _____ not dedicated to a special field _____

conservative _____ not conservative _____

critical of rules _____ accepting of rules _____

impulsive _____ deliberate _____

interested in religion _____ not interested in religion _____

compliant _____ defiant _____

absorbed in social life and dating _____ not absorbed in social life and dating _____

absorbed in studies and academic work _____ not absorbed in studies and academic work _____

MOST BENNINGTON SENIORS

Interested in national and inter- national affairs	not interested in national and inter- national affairs
_____	_____

not unconventional
in dress or
appearance _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ unconventional
in dress or
appearance

not unconventional
in opinions or
beliefs _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ unconventional
in opinions or
beliefs

Intellectual : : : : : not intellectual

tense : : : : relaxed

dedicated to a special field _____ not dedicated to a special field _____

conservative : : : : : not conservative

critical of rules _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ accepting of rules

impulsive _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ deliberate

interested in			not interested in
religion _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	religion _____

compliant : : : : : defiant

absorbed in social life and dating	not absorbed in social life and dating
_____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____	_____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____

absorbed in studies and academic work	not absorbed in studies and academic work
_____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____ : _____	

MYSELF BEFORE COMING TO BENNINGTON

interested in national and international affairs _____ not interested in national and international affairs _____

not unconventional in dress or appearance _____ unconventional in dress or appearance _____

not unconventional in opinions or beliefs _____ unconventional in opinions or beliefs _____

intellectual _____ not intellectual _____

tense _____ relaxed _____

dedicated to a special field _____ not dedicated to a special field _____

conservative _____ not conservative _____

critical of rules _____ accepting of rules _____

impulsive _____ deliberate _____

interested in religion _____ not interested in religion _____

compliant _____ defiant _____

absorbed in social life and dating _____ not absorbed in social life and dating _____

absorbed in studies and academic work _____ not absorbed in studies and academic work _____

MYSELF TODAY

interested in national and international affairs _____ not interested in national and international affairs _____

not unconventional in dress or appearance _____ unconventional in dress or appearance _____

not unconventional in opinions or beliefs _____ unconventional in opinions or beliefs _____

intellectual _____ not intellectual _____

tense _____ relaxed _____

dedicated to a special field _____ not dedicated to a special field _____

conservative _____ not conservative _____

critical of rules _____ accepting of rules _____

impulsive _____ deliberate _____

interested in religion _____ not interested in religion _____

compliant _____ defiant _____

absorbed in social life and dating _____ not absorbed in social life and dating _____

absorbed in studies and academic work _____ not absorbed in studies and academic work _____

2. Second Administration (Spring, 1962)

MY FATHER WANTS ME TO BE

interested in
national and inter-
national affairs _____

not interested in
national and inter-
national affairs _____

not unconventional
in dress or
appearance _____

unconventional
in dress or
appearance _____

not unconventional
in opinions or
beliefs _____

unconventional
in opinions or
beliefs _____

intellectual _____

not intellectual _____

conservative _____

not conservative _____

critical of rules _____

accepting of rules _____

interested in
religion _____

not interested in
religion _____

compliant _____

defiant _____

absorbed in
social life
and dating _____

not absorbed in
social life
and dating _____

absorbed in
studies and
academic work _____

not absorbed in
studies and
academic work _____

MY MOTHER WANTS ME TO BE

interested in
national and inter-
national affairs _____

not interested in
national and inter-
national affairs _____

not unconventional
in dress or
appearance _____

unconventional
in dress or
appearance _____

not unconventional
in opinions or
beliefs _____

unconventional
in opinions or
beliefs _____

intellectual _____

not intellectual _____

conservative _____

not conservative _____

critical of rules _____

accepting of rules _____

interested in
religion _____

not interested in
religion _____

compliant _____

defiant _____

absorbed in
social life
and dating _____

not absorbed in
social life
and dating _____

absorbed in
studies and
academic work _____

not absorbed in
studies and
academic work _____

**MOST OF MY FRIENDS
AT BENNINGTON ARE:**

interested in national and inter- national affairs	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	not interested in national and inter- national affairs
--	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--

not unconventional in dress or appearance	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	unconventional in dress or appearance
---	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	---

not unconventional in opinions or beliefs	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	unconventional in opinions or beliefs
---	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	---

intellectual	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	not intellectual
--------------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	------------------

conservative	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	not conservative
--------------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	------------------

critical of rules	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	accepting of rules
-------------------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------------------

interested in religion	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	not interested in religion
---------------------------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	-------------------------------

compliant	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	defiant
-----------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	---------

absorbed in social life and dating	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	not absorbed in social life and dating
--	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--

absorbed in studies and academic work	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	not absorbed in studies and academic work
---	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	---

**MOST OF MY NON-BENNINGTON
FRIENDS ARE:**

interested in national and inter- national affairs _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____	not interested in national and inter- national affairs _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____
--	--

not unconventional in dress or appearance _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____	unconventional in dress or appearance _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____
---	---

not unconventional in opinions or beliefs _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____	unconventional in opinions or beliefs _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____
---	---

intellectual _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____	not intellectual _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____
--	--

conservative _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____	not conservative _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____
--	--

critical of rules _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____	accepting of rules _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____
---	--

interested in religion _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____	not interested in religion _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____
---	---

compliant _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____	defiant _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____
---	---

absorbed in social life and dating _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____	not absorbed in social life and dating _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____
--	--

absorbed in studies and academic work _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____	not absorbed in studies and academic work _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____
---	---

SOMEONE OF MY AGE FROM
MY HOME COMMUNITY OR
NEIGHBORHOOD IS LIKELY TO BE:

interested in
national and inter-
national affairs _____

not interested in
national and inter-
national affairs _____

not unconventional
in dress or
appearance _____

unconventional
in dress or
appearance _____

not unconventional
in opinions or
beliefs _____

unconventional
in opinions or
beliefs _____

intellectual _____

not intellectual _____

conservative _____

not conservative _____

critical of rules _____

accepting of rules _____

interested in
religion _____

not interested in
religion _____

compliant _____

defiant _____

absorbed in
social life
and dating _____

not absorbed in
social life
and dating _____

absorbed in
studies and
academic work _____

not absorbed in
studies and
academic work _____

DD

SOMEONE ADMIRER BY MOST BENNINGTON
STUDENTS IS LIKELY TO BE:

interested in
national and inter-
national affairs _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ not interested in
national and inter-
national affairs

not unconventional
in dress or
appearance _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ unconventional
in dress or
appearance

not unconventional
in opinions or
beliefs _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ unconventional
in opinions or
beliefs

intellectual _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ not intellectual

conservative _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ not conservative

critical of rules _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ accepting of rules

interested in
religion _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ not interested in
religion

compliant _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ defiant

absorbed in
social life
and dating _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ not absorbed in
social life
and dating

absorbed in
studies and
academic work _____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____ not absorbed in
studies and
academic work

I AM:

interested in
national and inter-
national affairs _____

not interested in
national and inter-
national affairs _____

not unconventional
in dress or
appearance _____

unconventional
in dress or
appearance _____

not unconventional
in opinions or
beliefs _____

unconventional
in opinions or
beliefs _____

intellectual _____

not intellectual _____

conservative _____

not conservative _____

critical of rules _____

accepting of rules _____

interested in
religion _____

not interested in
religion _____

compliant _____

defiant _____

absorbed in
social life
and dating _____

not absorbed in
social life
and dating _____

absorbed in
studies and
academic work _____

not absorbed in
studies and
academic work _____

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

I. Interview Questions Used in the Spring of 1961

1. One of the things we are quite interested in are the significant experiences which students have while they are at Bennington. Some students feel that their college years are a period of great change in themselves; while others feel that they have hardly changed at all. Where do you think you would come with regard to these two extremes; in other words, how much and in what ways do you think you have changed since coming to Bennington?
2. Do you think that having gone to Bennington will make any difference in your later life? (In what way?)
3. Have you ever given thought to whether there are implicit social standards that other students expect you to uphold?
 - a) Sometimes students feel that they are under pressure to conform in certain ways in order to be accepted by other students.
 - b) Sometimes students feel that there is a lack of tolerance for certain individual behavior or personal beliefs.
 - c) Sometimes students feel they cannot maintain their own values and standards and remain a part of the community.
 - d) Sometimes students feel that if they maintain the values of their family or their religion they are relegated to a minority status in the community.
4. President Fels has said: "The College has a reputation for being unconventional." Do you think that anything should be done to change this reputation?
 - a) Are there any respects in which you think of yourself as particularly unconventional? (What might these be?)

II. Interview Questions Used in the Spring of 1962

- 1-4. Some students feel that their college years are a period of great change in themselves, while others feel that they have hardly changed at all. Are there any ways in which you have changed since coming to Bennington? (What might these be?)

- a) FIRST MENTIONED CHANGE: When do you feel this particular change began?
- b) What do you feel brought about this change--can you recall any particular people, experiences or events that were responsible for initiating this change? (PROBE PARTICULARLY FOR PEOPLE, AND FOR DETAIL OF EXPERIENCES)

(IF R HAS NOT MENTIONED ALL OF THE ITEMS BELOW WHEN SHE FINISHES, PROBE WITH REGARD TO EACH, AS FOLLOWS. Some students have told us that they have experienced important changes with respect to their:

- a) Intellectual development
- b) Ideas about themselves
- c) Attitudes toward their fellow students
- d) Attitudes toward the society outside Bennington
- e) Political attitudes.

Do you think this has been an important area of change for you?

Yes No

IF YES, In what way have you changed in this area?

(REPEAT FOR a-e ABOVE)

5. Since you have come to Bennington have you noticed any ways in which your values and beliefs have differed from those of certain groups of students here? (PROBE FOR WHAT THE DIFFERENCES WERE AND WITH WHOM R DIFFERED)

- a) IF YES: When did you first notice these differences?
- b) How were these differences brought to your attention? (PROBE FOR SPECIFIC INSTANCES AND EXPERIENCES OF PRESSURE)
- d) How did you feel when you became aware of these differences?
- d) How have you reacted to these differences (What did you do about them)? (PROBE: Sometimes students are disturbed if fellow students disagree with them about important matters.)

6. Since you've come to Bennington have you noticed any important differences between your own values and beliefs and those of parents? (PROBE FOR CONTENT OF DIFFERENCES AND WHICH PARENT)

a) IF YES: Do you think either parent wanted you to change?

How was this brought to your attention?

b) How did you feel when you became aware of these differences?

c) What did you do about them?

APPENDIX F

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS RELATING TO NORM-ACCEPTANCE

Index of "Conventional" Items (Fall, 1960)

Students were given a "conventional" index of items based on the number of "conventional" characteristics they possessed as "conventional" in the "conventional" questionnaire form. They were asked to rate the items as "conventional" or "non-conventional".

- 1. All-around
- 2. Survival type type
- 3. All-around
- 4. Survival type type
- 5. All-around
- 6. Survival type type
- 7. All-around
- 8. Survival type type
- 9. All-around
- 10. Survival type type
- 11. All-around
- 12. Survival type type
- 13. All-around
- 14. Survival type type
- 15. All-around
- 16. Survival type type
- 17. All-around
- 18. Survival type type
- 19. All-around
- 20. Survival type type
- 21. All-around
- 22. Survival type type
- 23. All-around
- 24. Survival type type
- 25. All-around
- 26. Survival type type
- 27. All-around
- 28. Survival type type
- 29. All-around
- 30. Survival type type
- 31. All-around
- 32. Survival type type
- 33. All-around
- 34. Survival type type
- 35. All-around
- 36. Survival type type
- 37. All-around
- 38. Survival type type
- 39. All-around
- 40. Survival type type
- 41. All-around
- 42. Survival type type
- 43. All-around
- 44. Survival type type
- 45. All-around
- 46. Survival type type
- 47. All-around
- 48. Survival type type
- 49. All-around
- 50. Survival type type
- 51. All-around
- 52. Survival type type
- 53. All-around
- 54. Survival type type
- 55. All-around
- 56. Survival type type
- 57. All-around
- 58. Survival type type
- 59. All-around
- 60. Survival type type
- 61. All-around
- 62. Survival type type
- 63. All-around
- 64. Survival type type
- 65. All-around
- 66. Survival type type
- 67. All-around
- 68. Survival type type
- 69. All-around
- 70. Survival type type
- 71. All-around
- 72. Survival type type
- 73. All-around
- 74. Survival type type
- 75. All-around
- 76. Survival type type
- 77. All-around
- 78. Survival type type
- 79. All-around
- 80. Survival type type
- 81. All-around
- 82. Survival type type
- 83. All-around
- 84. Survival type type
- 85. All-around
- 86. Survival type type
- 87. All-around
- 88. Survival type type
- 89. All-around
- 90. Survival type type
- 91. All-around
- 92. Survival type type
- 93. All-around
- 94. Survival type type
- 95. All-around
- 96. Survival type type
- 97. All-around
- 98. Survival type type
- 99. All-around
- 100. Survival type type

APPENDIX F

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS RELATING TO NORM-ACCEPTANCE

"Small Talk" and "Personal Talk" Index (Fall, 1960)

These indices were based on the "conventional" index. Items were rated as "small talk" or "personal talk" based on the number of "small talk" or "personal talk" characteristics they possessed as "small talk" or "personal talk" in the "small talk" or "personal talk" questionnaire form. They were asked to rate the items as "small talk" or "personal talk".

In general, when you talk with your fellow students, about the following do you talk about each of the following topics? (Check the appropriate column for each topic.)

	Hardly	From time to time	Often	Very often
at personal matters, family, friends and acquaintances.				
at social life, leisure, eating				

APPENDIX F

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS RELATING TO NORM-ACCEPTANCE

1. Index of Conventionality (Fall, 1960)

Students were given a "conventionality" score which was based on the number of "conventional" stereotypes they checked as "favorable" in the Bennington stereotypes item (see Appendix C for the complete item). The terms scored as conventional were:

all around
American girl type
Ann Carter
collegiate
conservative
debs
gung-ho
preppy
Smithy
social
socialites

2. "Small Talk" and "Serious Talk" Indices (Fall, 1960)

These indices were based on the "conversation" items reprinted below. A check in the column headed "hardly ever" was scored "zero" for that item; a check under "very often" was scored "three"; the intervening columns received scores of "one" and "two" respectively. The "small talk" index was composed of items: a, b, c; the "serious talk" index was composed of items: d, e, f, g, and h.

In general, when you talk with your fellow students, about how frequently do you talk about each of the following topics? Make a rough guess. (Check the appropriate column for each topic.)

	<u>Hardly Ever</u>	<u>Occasionally</u>	<u>Often</u>	<u>Very Often</u>
a) Personal matters, family, friends and acquaintances	—	—	—	—
b) Social life, leisure, dating	—	—	—	—

	<u>Hardly</u> <u>Ever</u>	<u>Occasionally</u>	<u>Often</u>	<u>Very</u> <u>Often</u>
c) Local issues, or college routine, such as course assignments, administration policies, community affairs	—	—	—	—
d) Serious discussions pertaining to literature, poetry, drama	—	—	—	—
e) Discussion of the arts	—	—	—	—
f) Theoretical matters, philosophy, ethics or religion	—	—	—	—
g) Human rights, civil liberties, social problems	—	—	—	—
h) Politics, current events on the national and international scene	—	—	—	—
i) Other (please specify)				

3. "Number of Weekends on Campus" (Spring, 1961)

Since the beginning of the Fall term last September, about how many weekends have you spent on campus? (The maximum number possible, including the Fall and Spring "long weekends" is 24.)